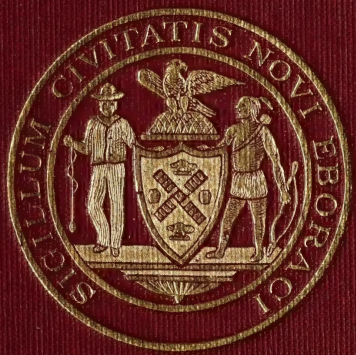
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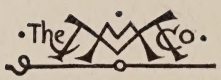
HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Vol. I



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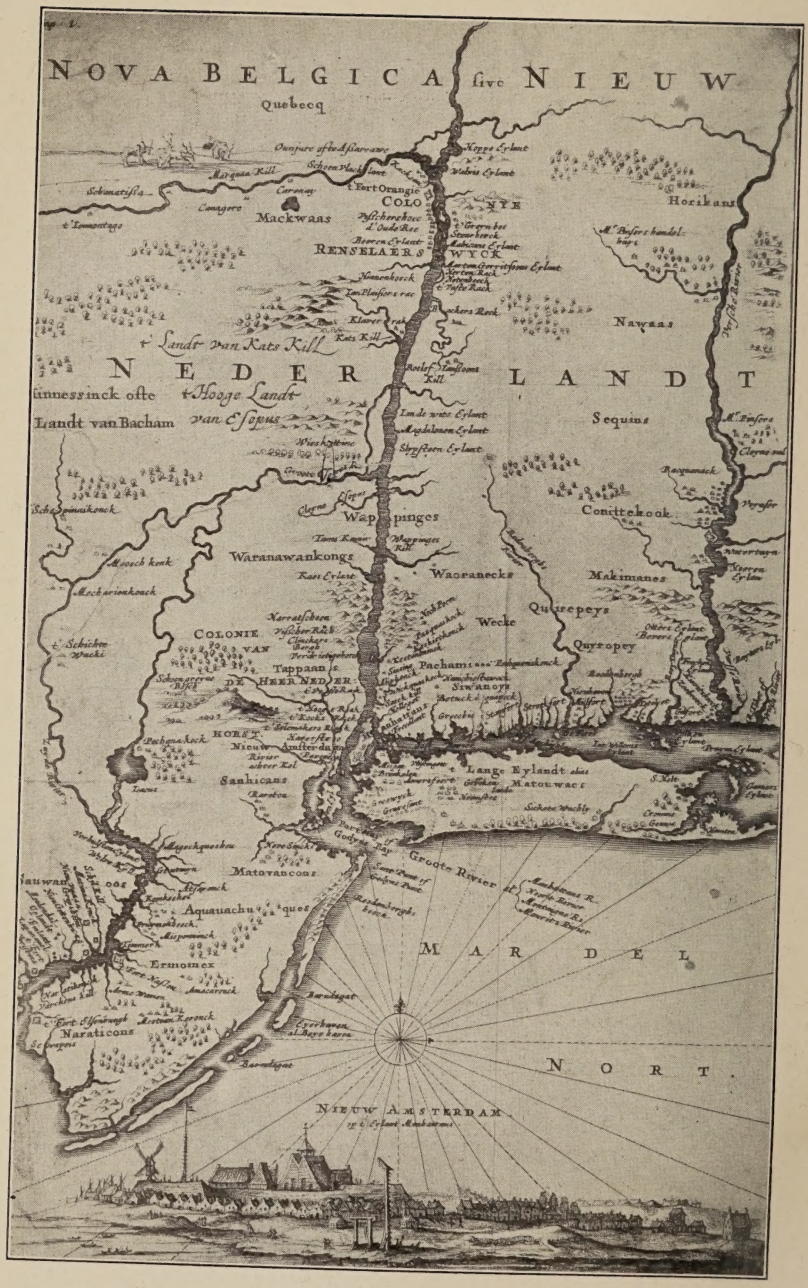

VAN DER DONCK'S MAP OF NEW NETHERLAND. 1656

Reduced from an original in the New York Public Library

(See page 380)

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HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF NEW YORK

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER

AUTHOR OF "ENGLISH CATHEDRALS," "HENRY HOBSON RICHARDSON AND HIS WORKS," ETC.

VOL. I

NEW AMSTERDAM

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1909

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Set up and electrotyped. Published May, 1909.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

PREFACE

In these volumes I have written the history of the settlement planted by the Dutch on the island of Manhattan from its earliest days until the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, when a new period in the life of the American colonies began.

To trace during these eighty years the fortunes of the city called New Amsterdam and New York I have had to say much of the province called New Netherland and New York, for the city was the focus and also the driving-wheel of the life of the province while, on the other hand, it was vitally affected by much that happened elsewhere. Yet I have not written a history of the province. That would embrace the local history of all its parts. I have said only as much about other parts as was needful to make plain the story of the capital.

Behind this picture of a city as the capital of a province it has been necessary to sketch a very wide background. The only method of showing what has been characteristic, individual, in the life of any community is a method of comparison and contrast carried more or less far afield. Moreover, although the Thirteen Colonies differed in the manner of their birth and the course of their development and were distinct political organisms, nevertheless they vitally influenced each other in many ways and were bound together by many ties of race, need, experience, and aspiration. Excepting New Netherland they were all daughters of one mother. After England acquired New Netherland they were all members of one imperial household and as such attached to the fortunes of the great family of European nations. And from the time of their birth they shared in exerting the influence

that the New World had upon the Old — an influence which, at once destroying current ideas of geography, gradually reacting upon ideas of religion and philosophy, and transforming ideas of trade and commerce, eventually played an immense part in shattering old theories of government. Therefore the history of none of the Thirteen Colonies, and of no important place within their borders, can be rightly told if dissevered from the history of the others or from the general history of the Christian world.

This is eminently true of New York while it was New Netherland. As a Dutch province occupying a particularly desirable part of the seaboard and commanding, as did none of the colonies originally English, a great trade route to the interior of the continent, it attracted the covetous attention of neighbors who affected its history much more than it affected theirs. It is possible to write adequately of early New England or Virginia saying very little of New Netherland. It is not possible to write of New Netherland without saying a great deal about New England and something about the southern colonies. Also, the Dutch province was an object of concern in Europe not only to its own fatherland but also to the rival power which wanted, threatened, and eventually seized it. And as Holland was a continental state with complicated international relationships, and with more widely extended colonies than England yet possessed, New Netherland was brought into a larger circle of interests than any English plantation of the time.

Because the province of New York was both Dutch and English, and because its geographical position made it the barrier for all the colonies against the Canadian French, its history is more varied and picturesque than that of the others. Again, a special quality of interest pertains to the city of New York in its early years by reason of the preëminence it has since achieved; for it is with places as with men — the greater their importance in adult life the greater is the interest that attaches to their birth and antecedents, the inci-

dents of their youth, and the influences that moulded their spirit and shaped their destinies. Yet the strongest claim of colonial New York upon the historian's attention is the share taken by province and city in the upbuilding of a nation new in fact and novel in character.

With the discoveries of Columbus and the beginning of the Reformation there opened a new era in the history of nations. Its main feature has been the struggle to establish civil and religious liberty and to win recognition for the essential equality of men. In modern history one nation or another is, primarily, of importance in proportion as it has been active and successful in this struggle for assured and organized freedom and as its example has inspired others to similar efforts; and the chief occurrences are those which have meant the longest, steadiest steps toward the great general goal — the Reformation itself, the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, the rebellion against Charles I and the revolution of 1688 in England, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution. Therefore it is as they played their part in the American Revolution that the province of New York, and the city of New York as its heart and soul, must most deeply interest the inquirer into the past.

If I make the thought of the Revolution thus prominent in the Preface to volumes which end with the year 1691, it is because, in New York as in the other colonies, the Revolution began when the history of the colonies began. It was not, as some have tried to believe, an event that chanced to happen when it did, one that might have been avoided or long postponed. It was not a semi-accidental breach, a mere family quarrel which a small increase of good-will on both sides might have permanently settled, a misunderstanding — even this word has been used — between a mother-country and adolescent offspring who might well have continued in healthy growth hand in hand with herself. In fact, the American Revolution was not an event in the sense that such ideas about it presuppose. It was the culminating point of a long and slow evolution. For generations, on both sides

of the sea, certain forces had been working under certain conditions toward an end which could not have been fundamentally different from the one we know. The real revolution which resulted in an armed revolt was a state of feeling or, as John Adams said, a state of opinion. And this mental attitude began unconsciously to shape itself when the first Dutch and English settlers established themselves along the American seaboard.

In its Dutch days, of course, New York did not stand with any of the English colonies in their efforts to preserve or to secure self-governing powers. But it strove for itself and by itself along parallel lines; after it became an English possession it drew nearer to its neighbors; and still later it fought the common fight for a time with a more helpful energy than they. During the seventeenth century New England fills the foreground of the colonial picture. During the first part of the eighteenth the place is largely occupied by New York — by the city as a metaphorical battleground for legislative and judicial struggles, by the province as the scene of the great life-and-death conflict with France. Moreover, from the beginning the history of this province is especially instructive as showing more clearly than that of any other, not excepting Pennsylvania, that the American Revolution was not a movement of transplanted Englishmen. More plainly than any other it shows how Europeans of diverse origin were transformed into Americans by the influence of their new environment, this word meaning a combination of geographical, economic, industrial, and human influences.

While these two volumes are complete in themselves as a history of the city during the seventeenth century, I hope to follow them with two more which will cover the later colonial and the Revolutionary periods, carrying the tale, through the war and the constructive years that then ensued, down to the year 1789 when, in the city of New York, the first President of the United States was inaugurated. To go farther than this would be not to continue the same story but to begin

on the same ground one of a different kind. Early in the nineteenth century there dawned for New York a new period of prominence during which it grew to be the chief city of the new nation and the New World. But in 1789 its original kind of importance was shorn away from it. It was no longer, as it had been for generations, the capital of a province independent of its neighbors and semi-autonomous or, as it had been in recent years, the capital of a virtually independent State; and eight years later it ceased to be even the capital of one of the United States.

Although, however, I have wanted to write only the history of our city while it was the centre of a political organism playing a distinct personal part in the history of the world, this book is not an essay in political history. It is not a study of British colonial institutions as they affected one of the communities that lived under them and by it were themselves affected. Such a book would be well worth writing with New York as its theme; and so would be a history of the municipality strictly considered as such, showing in detail the genesis, character, methods, and resources of the city government from its modest Dutch beginnings in 1653 until the present time. But neither of these would be a history of the city and its inhabitants. Nor would either, or both together, explain why and how they helped in preparing the way for the Revolution. Like other men in other countries, the colonial Americans strove for political and religious freedom because they wished to feel themselves in the full sense men, but also because they wanted to be able to utilize unhampered energies in the pursuit of material well-being. It is this broad fact that lifts the conception of political freedom into the category of things beyond question needful for the progress and happiness of mankind. And to show that it is a fact the life of a people must be painted, if in outline only, upon all its sides. The interaction of varied motives tending to bring about the same eventual result must be indicated — the interplay of the forces of theory and sentiment and those of material need and desire.

In one sense this evolution may be more easily followed in the chronicle of such a small and simply organized community as colonial New York than in that of a great and complexly developed nation. On the other hand, the paucity of contemporaneous material at one point and another of the story, its fragmentariness at all times, and the fact that a great deal of what exists is still unprinted and, in part, literally or virtually inaccessible, so hamper the student that often only a bald outline can be drawn and sometimes only in a shadowy fashion. Years ago Justin Winsor wrote that New York had 'done nobly in the care of her archives'; more than any other State she had 'thoroughly and systematically drawn upon the archives of Europe . . . to add to the interest of her own accumulations'; and to her was due 'the credit which belongs, I think, to no other State, of having purchased any considerable mass of papers from private hands.' [1] Since this was written the State of New York has done still more; but it has not done enough; and it has deep reason to regret that it did not sooner begin its collecting in foreign archives.

In 1841, when the legislature authorized the investigation and transcription of all papers relating to the history of the State that could be found in Holland, England, and France, it appointed as its agent for this purpose Mr. John Romeyn Brodhead who had been for some time attached to the American legation at the Hague. For more than three years Brodhead worked diligently at his difficult task, cordially welcomed and assisted by the Dutch and the French authorities but coldly received and hampered by dense tangles of red tape in London. When, after his return, he arranged his transcripts they filled eighty large manuscript volumes of very great historical value as illumining the history of the other colonies and of Canada and for the first time revealing the foundations of the history of New York. It was the contents of these volumes that were soon afterwards printed in the ten great quartos entitled *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of*

[1] *Manuscript Sources of American History* in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XVIII.

New York (398)[1] and commonly called our *Colonial Documents.*

But there should have been more of these volumes — more than only two which could bear the subtitle *Holland Documents.* When Brodhead got to work in Holland he found many valuable papers in the archives at the Hague but was told that the bulk of those relating to New Netherland were in the keeping of the West India Company which had owned the province from the time of its birth until it fell to the English in 1664. Applying at the offices of this company in Amsterdam he learned that in 1821 all its books and documents earlier in date than the year 1700 had been sold as waste paper at public auction; and the widest possible advertising failed to bring to light any that referred to Manhattan or the parts adjacent. Thus the State of New York did its gleaning in Holland twenty years too late. It secured only what the government of the Republic had preserved in its own archives that related to the West India Company and its province. It is indeed with covetous thoughts that we read, in a document once sent by the Dutch government to the English, that 'very perfect registers, relations, and journals' of the West India Company were then in existence. It cannot now be hoped that a full history of New Amsterdam may ever be compiled; and the emptiest gaps are at the most interesting part of the story — at the very beginning. Valuable material toward the filling of these particular gaps has, however, recently been brought to light and published as the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (513). Only a few years ago a letter from Manhattan, earlier than any hitherto known, was discovered in Holland and published here (305). And there is reason to believe that diligent search in Holland among the archives of certain provinces and cities and in book-shops and private collections would reveal other manuscripts of much interest to Americans.

While the historian can never cease to deplore the loss of

[1] Numbers of this kind refer to the list of books at the end of Vol. II.

the West India Company's papers, nevertheless he has much to be grateful for in addition to the facts that Winsor noted — especially for the aid and guidance afforded by two writers of an earlier generation, Brodhead and O'Callaghan, through their own histories of the province (405, 382) as well as through their work as collectors, translators, or editors of documents, for the accessibility of the masses of manuscript preserved in the State Library at Albany where the archivist, Mr. A. J. F. Van Laer, is eminently able and willing to aid an inquirer, and for the new stores of printed material that recent years have provided. Within the past thirty years the papers relating to the colonies in public keeping in England have been calendared down to and beyond the accession of William and Mary; thus indexed they can be hopefully studied; and no annoyance from red tape need now be feared. Here at home within the past fifteen years there have been published, in a new edition much more useful than earlier ones, the colonial laws of New York (272) and, for the first time, the proceedings of the city government during the Dutch period (360) and, excepting as it served as a court, during the English period also (409). The minutes of the council of the English governors when acting in its executive capacity have been calendared (142). All documents and parts of documents that relate to the ecclesiastical affairs of city and province have been gathered together from many sources (167). The early records of the Dutch communion in the city have been published (97) and also, in calendars or abstracts, the wills there on file (546, 547). The *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* have been admirably edited. And important series of documents have appeared in two volumes of the annual reports of the State historian (454).

In the way of secondary aids to an understanding of colonial affairs, general or local, these fifteen years have given us such broad surveys as the first volumes of Channing's *History of the United States* (502) and the many volumes of *The American Nation* (55) edited by Professor Hart and written by various hands; Osgood's invaluable study of institutional facts and

developments, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (116) — the most important work on colonial history produced in our time; many less voluminous studies of the relations between the mother-country and its plantations like Egerton's *Short History of British Colonial Policy* (108), Andrews' *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade* (77), Beer's *Commercial Policy of England toward the American Colonies* (122), his *Origin of the British Colonial System* (110), Kaye's *The Colonial Executive Prior to the Restoration* (182), and his *English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon* (103); other studies more strictly colonial in scope such as Greene's *The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America* (206), McKinley's *Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America* (495), Channing's *Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America* (499), and Bishop's *History of Elections in the American Colonies* (174); and others, again, more specifically relating to the province or the city of New York, among them Lincoln's detailed and highly instructive *Constitutional History of New York* (132), Black's *History of the Municipal Ownership of Land on Manhattan Island* (328), Durand's *Finances of New York City* (186), Brooks's *History of the Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of New York* (144), Schwab's *History of the New York Property Tax* (447), Rosewater's *Special Assessments* (480), and Innes's *New Amsterdam and Its People* (357). As recent, for those phases of European history most closely connected with our own colonial development, are Blok's great history of the people of the Netherlands (348) and Japikse's illuminative study of the relations between Holland and England at the time when New Netherland was about to pass to the English (523); and, with regard to localities near Manhattan or to neighboring colonies, Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England* (168), Tanner's *Province of New Jersey* (379), and Shonnard and Spooner's *History of Westchester County* (538). Many other new and helpful books might be added to this list, and with them a multitude of valuable monographs which

have appeared in periodicals, in the collections of historical societies, or in what may be called composite histories, many reprints of volumes grown scarce, and a number of long-desired bibliographical aids. Chief among these is Osgood's report on the archives and public papers of the State and the city (5) while the most useful which deal only with printed works are Flagg and Jennings' *Bibliography of New York Colonial History* (30), Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* (19), and the lists of works relating to special localities or subjects published in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library.

This list, partial even for the period it covers and noting no books that speak in particular of the eighteenth century, will indicate that the time is propitious for attempting to write once more the history of colonial New York. By no hand, however, can it be definitively written, and by none can that study of the city considered solely as a municipal organism which would be so interesting and so valuable be attempted, until the city itself has done its part. All its treasures of historical documents must be rescued from the condition in which many of them now lie, a condition disgraceful to the community and prohibitive to the student; and many more than are yet in print should be published, notably the records of the local colonial courts. There are few ways in which the sense of civic pride and responsibility which is developing among us may more serviceably show itself than by saving the records of the city's life from the almost total oblivion which now shrouds great numbers of them, from the actual destruction which, as Professor Osgood's report makes plain, imminently threatens not a few.

While the State has not thus neglected the historical manuscripts it holds in trust for the people, it should also be urged to print many more of them without delay, especially court records and those masses of domestic documents of all colonial periods, Dutch and English, which are bound up in a long series of great volumes called *New York Colonial Manuscripts* and which supplement those collected by Brodhead in Europe.

Wherever in these volumes I have used quotation marks I have given the passage with strict attention to verbal accuracy; but I have not felt bound, except in a few special cases, to adhere to the original texts in the matter of spelling and punctuation. By the middle of the seventeenth century, when my quotations from English pens grow numerous, English orthography had lost the interest that pertains to it in the writings of earlier periods. It is no longer archaic; it is only not quite modern; and its eccentricities are casual, individual to each writer, rather than characteristic of the time. Therefore it has not enough historic interest to offset, in a book of this character, the fact that even a slightly unfamiliar orthography has a confusing influence upon readers accustomed only to modern pages, often making the writing of educated appear like that of uneducated persons, attracting to itself the attention that should be concentrated upon the meaning of the passage, and sometimes giving a farcical effect to serious words. Furthermore, almost all the quotations contained in the first volume are translations from the Dutch which had to be given in modern spelling; and to pass from this in the second stage of the story to spellings of various degrees of strangeness would, I feel sure, have blurred the historical perspective to many eyes.

The particles *van* and *de* attached to names of Dutch, Flemish, or French origin are now written in this country with a capital letter which is accepted as the initial of the name — of necessity if constant confusion is to be avoided, and so always in directories, catalogues, and other lists and almost always by the bearers of such names. For the sake of uniformity I have followed this practice even in writing of the early periods when it was not customary, excepting only a few French names not now known among us. And I have always used the particle when it has been preserved in the modern form of a name although in earlier days it may have been as often ignored as employed.

In citing dates I have been obliged to use, with regard to months and days, at times the New Style chronology adopted

in the sixteenth century by the Dutch and at times the Old Style to which the English adhered until the middle of the eighteenth century, thus lagging ten days behind other nations until the year 1700 and after that eleven days behind. But I have always explained the transition and have always used the New Style or historical year, beginning with January 1, and not the English legal year which began on March 25.

The notes that follow each chapter give the chief documentary and secondary sources of information for the period it covers, special references regarding important or debatable points, and the origin of the quotations in the text. By the use of the numbers attached, the full form of the titles sometimes abbreviated and almost always incompletely given in the chapter notes may be read in the general list, printed at the end of Volume II, of the books and essays I have found most useful.

This general list embraces no material still in manuscript, and the chapter notes refer to such material in only a few instances. Every one must use manuscript sources who hopes to investigate for himself the early history of New York. But only the serious student will make this attempt, and he will know or can easily learn what is accessible, where it may be found, and how to come upon the documents he wants. An attempt to indicate here all the pages I have consulted in manuscript would have enlarged my book to an unwieldy size and have given it an aspect deterrent to the class of readers for whom it is primarily intended. The same is true in regard to that citation by volume and page of all printed authorities for all statements which is to be desired in books for scholars.

As I have arranged the general list not according to authors' names but according to subjects it will have, I hope, an independent value of its own. I do not present it, however, as a bibliography of the history of New York in the seventeenth century. While including even very brief compilations and monographs which throw a real light upon major or minor points in the story, and also some books which bear only casually

upon the main theme but enlarge understanding of those general conditions, colonial or European, which had a direct or indirect influence upon the little colonial city, on the other hand I have left out a number of books, some of them well known, which if judged only by their titles may seem to have demanded admittance. Nor can I call the list a list of authorities. By no means every work it contains is even approximately authoritative from end to end. But all contain useful material; and the chapter notes often indicate the special utility of one and another. With regard to the outlying branches of my subject, like the course of events in the other colonies, in Canada, and in Europe, I have set down only a few references, chiefly to books which will give the inquirer knowledge of a larger number.

Sometimes the reason for excluding a book from the general list has been constant inaccuracy of statement. Sometimes it has been falsity in general conception or in perspective — a misunderstanding of the true import of the story which tends seriously to mislead or to confuse the reader's mind. Irving's *Knickerbocker History* is, of course, the chief example of a book thus fundamentally faulty; or, more exactly, it is a book which, written as a jest, was accepted as a history (if as a humorous history) of a period with which no historian had yet familiarized the public. To-day it shares the fate of many another classic. Few people read it, fewer enjoy it; but its reputation is still great, and the substance of what it says, and above all the tone in which it is written, having tinctured the thoughts and the writings of three generations, still affect the point of view of many an American, not merely distorting his ideas about this fact or that, this personage or another, but perverting his general mental and emotional attitude toward the place, the times, and the people in question. Even the professed historian still sometimes helps to propagate the influence of Irving's burlesque. More than one writer of recent days, although otherwise serious in mood and method, quotes long passages from Diedrich Knickerbocker while more or less explicitly telling the reader that

they are not to be believed. Others recast the substance of his fantasies without giving any warning at all, or have plainly been biassed by his temper or indirectly swayed by the general attitude of mind that it has nurtured.

There have always been voices to protest against the influence of Irving's book. For example, James Grahame, a Scotchman who never even visited America, published in 1827 the first portion of a long and for its time remarkably good history of the American colonies (506); and in a note to it he says:

> Founders of ancient colonies have sometimes been deified by their successors. New York is perhaps the only commonwealth whose founders have been assailed with ridicule from the same quarter. It is impossible to read the ingenious and diverting romance entitled *Knickerbocker's History of New York* without wishing that the author had put a little more or a little less truth into it; and that his talent for humour and sarcasm had found another subject than the dangers, hardships, and virtues of the ancestors of his national family. . . . Probably my discernment of the unsuitableness of the writer's mirth is quickened by a sense of personal wrong, as I cannot help feeling that he has by anticipation ridiculed my topic and parodied my narrative. If Sancho Panza had been a real governor misrepresented by the prior wit of Cervantes, his posterior historian would have found it no easy matter to bespeak a grave attention to the annals of his administration.

In 1845, when a select committee of the senate of New York was reporting upon the proposal that the documents collected in Europe by Brodhead should be printed, it quoted Grahame's words, adding:

> The traits ascribed by the mock historian to the first settlers of New York can scarcely be supposed to have characterized such a people; . . . the manly virtues they displayed amid the toils and hardships of colonial life . . . deserve a very different commemoration at the hands of their descendants and successors.

This commemoration they have not yet received in adequate measure. But within the last few years there has been a marked improvement in the point of view of the makers of books that describe or refer to colonial New York. And there has been a great awakening of a sane and appreciative

concern for the history of their city among the rank and file of its people — a result almost wholly due to the wise activity of the City History Club and its founder, Mrs. Robert Abbe. If I can share a little in the same good work it will be a high additional reward for many years devoted to a subject which, I can truly say, has itself richly repaid me from hour to hour. So interesting are the chronicles amid which I have long been living that if my transcript from them is dull the fault is entirely my own.

I am deeply conscious that my book must have suffered from the fact that I have been able to ask scarcely any guidance or correction of other students of colonial history. To the many friends who are not such but who have given me aid at one point or another I am very grateful, and also to the administrators of the libraries where I have worked. Chief among these are the archive department of the State Library, the New York Public Library (Lenox Building), the library of the New York Historical Society, and the New York Society Library.

About the Society Library I must say a further word. While it does not offer the student manuscript material or such a vast array of books as are gathered together in public and university collections, it serves him in ways that they cannot attempt. Deficiencies that ought not to exist will be found in its collection of historical books. But it owns many — old, rare, or very costly — that one would scarcely expect it to have; and almost everything it owns it will lend with a lavish generosity, even books which everywhere else are piously kept on reference shelves. I need not explain to other writers the immense difference between using a book in a public library and using it at home in as leisurely a manner as one may wish. But for their benefit as well as to discharge a debt of gratitude I am glad of the chance to say that the existence of the Society Library has saved me what would have run into many months of tedious labor within other walls, labor as exasperating to the mind as exhausting to the body. It is the oldest library

in the city, and its story as recently written by Mr. Austin Baxter Keep, forms an interesting chapter in the eighteenth and nineteenth century history of New York. May it enlarge its historical collection as widely as possible and continue to serve the student as helpfully and as graciously as now it does.

In conclusion I beg that I may not be suspected, because of the name I acquired by marriage, of any inborn partiality for the Dutch-Americans who appear in my pages. My own people were of English and Scotch origin and, until my four grandparents became citizens of New York, lived in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Maryland and on Long Island. I like to remember that the forbears of at least two of my grandparents came to America as soon as they could — with the earliest settlers of New England. But, so far as I know, the only drops of Dutch blood I can pride myself upon I get from an inconspicuous New Jersey family and from the first wife of Captain John Underhill. Underhill himself is the only ancestor with whom I have had to deal; and I trust that his spirit has not moved me to speak of him with unjust indulgence.

MARIANA GRISWOLD VAN RENSSELAER.

March, 1909.

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HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Vol. I

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

CHAPTER I

EXPLORERS AND FUR-TRADERS

1524–1609–1621

Among all the enterprising people in the world who search for foreign countries, navigable waters and trade, those who bear the name of Netherlanders will very easily be able to hold their rank among the foremost, as is sufficiently known to all who have in any wise saluted the threshold of history. — *Remonstrance of New Netherland to the States General of the United Netherlands. 1649.*

At the time when Cortez was completing the conquest of Mexico, when Pizarro was entering Peru, the region where the chief city of the New World now stands was made known to the Old World by a Florentine navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano. Bearing an explorer's commission from Francis I of France he sailed northward along the mainland of America from about the thirty-fifth to the fiftieth degree of north latitude, and in the spring of 1524 entered the great bay between the fortieth and forty-first parallels, now called the Bay of New York. The letter, generally believed authentic, in which he made his report to his royal patron contains the earliest description of any part of the seaboard eventually covered by the Thirteen Colonies.

The next comer, probably, was Estevan Gomez, the Portuguese pilot who had deserted Magellan in the straits off Patagonia. The accounts of his northern voyage, undertaken for the emperor Charles V, are brief and vague but indicate that in 1525 he may have seen the island of Manhattan. During the same century the bay was undoubtedly visited by other

mariners, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Dutch; it must have served at times as a refuge for the European fishing craft that already abounded farther north; and there is reason to believe that shallops if not ships carried Frenchmen and Spaniards up the great river as far, perhaps, as its junction with its chief affluent, the Mohawk. But there is no reason to put faith in the speculations of certain imaginative writers who identify this region with the famous but problematical Norumbega and even suggest as the site of a French fort named Norombègue an island in a lake on Manhattan known to history as the Collect Pond.

The list, if so it may be called, of these early adventurers is more broadly international than the list of those who chanced upon any other spot that became conspicuous in our colonial history. To the fanciful it may seem a prophecy of the after record of the island where the most cosmopolitan community in America grew up. No one of whom it speaks, however, had any share in determining the history of Manhattan. None awakened any real interest in this part of the western world. The general feeling of the time was expressed by Peter Martyr, the first historian of Spanish America, when he wrote, in reference to what Gomez called the 'pleasant and profitable' transatlantic countries of the north temperate zone:

> What need have we of these things which are common with all the people of Europe? To the South, to the South for the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoctial; they that seek for riches must not go unto the cold and frozen north.

The history of Manhattan began when discoveries bore results — when the explorer gave clear directions where to find its great harbor, and traders and settlers were inspired to follow in his wake. This did not happen until the first decade of the seventeenth century. The Dutch colonists on Manhattan spoke with virtual if not with literal truth when, forty years later, in a document called the *Remonstrance of New Netherland,* they affirmed:

In the year of Christ 1609 was the country of which we now propose to speak first founded and discovered at the expense of the General East India Company (though directing their aims and desires elsewhere) by the ship *Half Moon* whereof Henry Hudson was master and factor.

This East India Company was a great trading corporation organized at Amsterdam in 1602, a score of years before the birth of the sister association, the Dutch West India Company, which was destined to own the American lands that Hudson discovered. Hudson was an Englishman and his name was Henry, or Henrie in the orthography of the time, not Hendrick as it has often been written. Nothing is recorded of his early years but he seems to have been well and widely known when, in 1607 and again in 1608, the Muscovy Company of London sent him out to try to discover that short water-passage to the Orient of which all the mariners and traders in Europe were dreaming. Searching for it toward the northeast, he failed, of course, to find it; but the lesser discoveries he made and the dangers he survived spread his fame abroad. For a dozen years or more the Dutch had also been seeking for the northeast route, and after Hudson returned from the voyage of 1608 the East India Company invited him to Holland.

Not only at the northeast, it was then believed, might the coveted passage exist. Every one who saw or heard of a bay or strait or important stream on the Atlantic coast of North America fondly hoped that it would prove to be a lengthening, broadening waterway to seas beyond — through the Far West to the Farther East. Verrazano, the first explorer officially sent out from France, was the first sent from any country to look for this northwest passage. Almost a century later Captain John Smith of Virginian fame was engaged in the same quest. Hudson himself had thought it might well be attempted west of Greenland, through Davis Strait; and when he talked with the directors of the East India Company he showed letters and charts, sent him by Smith, which told of a supposed sea 'leading into the western

ocean' in about the latitude of 40°. But having their own 'aims and desires,' the directors engaged him to search once more to the northward of Nova Zembla and forbade him to think of searching elsewhere, but promised that, if he should fail, another route should be the subject of consideration for another voyage.

The contract signed with the directors who formed the Amsterdam Chamber of the East India Company on January 8, 1609 (now preserved in the royal archives at the Hague), gave Hudson, to pay for his outfit and to support his family during his absence, a sum which was equivalent to $320 but had then four or five times its present purchasing power. Should he lose his life the directors were to give his wife the equivalent of $30. Should he find a good and practicable passage they would reward him at their discretion. After this contract was signed a message from the king of France invited Hudson to enter his service.

On April 4, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam with his Dutch commission in a Dutch vessel of eighty tons burden named the *Halve Mane* (*Half Moon*). Smaller than the carrack of Columbus, it was a flat-bottomed two-master of a type designed to navigate the difficult approaches to the Zuyder Zee and called a *vlieboot,* a term which was derived from the island of Vlieland but has been translated 'fly-boat.' On April 6 Hudson passed into the open sea through the strait called Texel. His mate was a Netherlander; his clerk, Robert Juet, who kept the log of the voyage and doubtless served as second mate, was an Englishman; and his crew of less than twenty men, Netherlanders and Englishmen, probably included his son John.

Near Nova Zembla he found, as he had found before, that the ice prevented further progress. His motley crew was quarrelsome, possibly mutinous. Disregarding his instructions he proposed to try for a northwest passage either through Davis Strait or in the latitude of 40° as John Smith had suggested. To the second plan his men consented. Early in July they were catching codfish on the Banks of Newfound-

land, on the 12th of the month they saw the mainland coast, and on the 18th they entered a harbor, probably Penobscot Bay, where they lay for a week mending the ship's tattered canvas and stepping a new foremast.

The next landfall was on the elbowed cape which, as Juet noted, the Englishman Gosnold had discovered seven years before and had named Cape Cod. Holding a southwesterly course, on August 18 the *Half Moon* stood off the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. Turning northward then, sailing slowly, and keeping closer than before to the land, it tarried briefly in Delaware Bay which no white men had seen before; on the afternoon of September 2, as there was 'little wind,' it was brought to anchor in sight of the highlands called Navesink which rise just south of Sandy Hook — 'a very good land to fall with,' wrote Juet, 'and a pleasant land to see'; and on the 3d, rounding the Hook, it found safe shelter in the bay behind it. Here the ship remained for a week. The savages paddled out to it bringing 'tobacco and Indian wheat to exchange for knives and beads,' and thus began the commerce of these regions with the peoples of Europe.

Meanwhile Hudson was sending his boats to explore the neighboring straits and the upper bay. On September 11 he took the *Half Moon* through the Narrows, and on the 12th started up the great river which, salt from the flushing of strong tides, he believed might be the much-desired passage to the Orient. Sailing by day, anchoring at night, on the 19th he was near the present site of Albany where he remained four days, sending his boats some twenty-five miles farther north in search of a practicable channel. Convinced at last that the river was 'at an end for ships to go in,' on September 23 he started downstream, and on October 4 he left what Juet called 'the great mouth of the great river,' bearing back to Europe a knowledge of regions great to be. Passing out not through the Narrows but through an 'inlet' farther west — the strait west of Staten Island — he 'steered away east southeast and southeast by east off into the main sea.'

Some of his men were ill, some threatened mutiny, yet they

refused to return to Holland. So Hudson made for the coast of England and on November 7 reached Dartmouth. Here the ship was long detained by order of the English government while Hudson and his English seamen were forbidden to go to Holland. When the *Half Moon* was released, in June, 1610, Hudson sent his charts and his journal to the East India Company by her mate. They have disappeared, but portions of the journal were quoted by the historian De Laet in his *New World*, published in 1625, and the log or journal kept by Juet may be read in its entirety in the third book of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, also published in 1625. Hudson's own fate is well known: seeking again for a northwest passage, this time with an English commission, he perished in the great northern bay which, like his Great River, now bears his name. Juet, who was one of the mutineers that cast him adrift in the icy solitude with his son and seven sick sailors, died of hardship on the return voyage. No portrait of Hudson exists, and no autograph. A portrait labelled with his name which is owned by the city of New York and hangs in one of its public buildings is certainly not authentic.

Hudson had studied the shores of his Great River and, bartering with their inhabitants, had collected samples of their products. The keen tradesmen of Holland saw that harvests might be reaped by following where he had led the way. The riches flowing for a century from the Occident into Spain and Portugal had inflamed the imagination of all Europe; although it still longed for a short route to the Orient it believed that its treasuries might be filled to overflowing from almost any part of America. There were, indeed, no precious metals among the trophies of Hudson's voyage. But he had seen high hills where he thought there might be mines of silver and copper; and he had brought back skins of the beaver, the otter, the marten and fox. In those days, when houses were scantily heated, furs were worn indoors and out by men as well as women, and even in the south of Europe were more highly prized than velvets and brocades. Holland dealt largely in them, sending each year scores of

vessels to bring them from Archangel. In 1607 Dutch mariners had found their way into Canadian waters and returned with valuable pelts such as the French had long been gathering there. As Hudson now showed that it was possible to find them in a more accessible region still untrodden by Europeans, and to buy them with cheap trinkets and stuffs of the coarsest kinds, how could enterprise neglect the chance? At this moment Dutch enterprise felt equal to any and every sort of commercial effort. The East India Company could not concern itself with Occidental undertakings, but without its help the merchants of Holland followed up Hudson's discoveries. And, so doing, they were led by gradual steps to found colonies on shores already coveted and verbally claimed by other European nations.

The Turks permanently blocked the old routes of traffic between Asia and Europe when they took Constantinople in 1453 and within the next half-century conquered Mesopotamia, Arabia, Greece, Syria, and Egypt. Vasco da Gama, rounding Africa, found for the Portuguese a new route, an 'outside route,' to the East while Columbus was throwing open what was not yet understood to be the new hemisphere of the West. And between 1519 and 1522 Magellan's expedition circled the globe. In consequence, the main currents of trade were turned from the Mediterranean, the Danube, and the Rhine out into the Atlantic, and the seats of commercial power shifted from Italy and Germany to Portugal and Spain, later to the Netherlands, France, and England.

To the eyes of Christendom all heathen and uncivilized countries were mere fallow fields for possible conquest, possession, exploitation. In 1493, probably to prevent anticipated strife between Portugal and Spain, the titular head of Christendom, Pope Alexander VI, bestowed upon Portugal all those parts of the 'unknown world' still unpossessed by other Christian nations which lay east, upon Spain those which lay west, of an imaginary line drawn through the Atlantic from pole to pole; and in the following year the

grantees compacted that this line should run 370 leagues to the westward of the Cape Verd Islands. Eagerly the Spaniards entered upon the conquest of the vast American domain all of which the Pope had intended them to possess. The Portuguese soon discovered that a portion of it, the great projecting shoulder of Brazil, lay east of the demarcation line, and here they established successful colonies; but even these the king of Spain acquired, with their mother-country, in the year 1581.

Meanwhile the rest of Europe did not accept the fiat of the Pope, feeling, as Francis I explained, that probably it was not justified by the testament of Father Adam. England and France eventually claimed the same wide region, the whole of North America down to the Florida peninsula, — the Eldorado which, in 1512, Ponce de Leon had discovered for Spain. England was the first to move, France the first in actual acquirement. The Italian whom the English called John Cabot, commissioned by their king Henry VII to conquer, to occupy, and to possess what countries or places he and his sons might newly find, hoped like every one else to make his way to China; and he thought he had reached it when, in 1497, he set up the standards of England and Venice on the shore of Labrador. In 1498 he and his son Sebastian sailed down along the American coast, possibly as far as Cape Hatteras, but made no landfall.

The English did not follow up this beginning upon which long afterwards they based their title to a great part of the North American continent. On the other hand the French, who based theirs upon Verrazano's landfalls of 1524, began in 1534 to explore the gulf and river which they called St. Lawrence, claiming the country for their king and erecting a white man's post long before any was set within the limits of our Thirteen Colonies. In 1540 a viceroy was appointed for Canada, Newfoundland, and the adjacent regions down to the fortieth parallel. In 1542 a short-lived French colony was set on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and in 1562 another, by a band of Huguenots, on the shore of what is now South Carolina.

France and Spain were at war during all this time. The voyage of Gomez in 1525, revealing coasts which the Spaniards had not seen before, reënforced their claim to the whole of America; and in 1565 they fortified a post on Ponce de Leon's peninsula, now the town of St. Augustine, the oldest in the United States. But the northern parts of the new hemisphere they thought of value chiefly as a barrier which might shut off their rivals from access to the Orient; and other nations did not fear to enter these parts after the sea power of Spain was scotched by the destruction of the Great Armada in 1588.

Until the latter decades of the sixteenth century the English remained an agricultural and pastoral people. They fished, indeed, and they exported raw materials — tin, lead, and especially wool. But they lagged far behind continental peoples in industrial activity; sea-girt though they were, they had claimed no part in Mediterranean traffic; the nations through whose lands this traffic naturally flowed northward had outrivalled them in trading on the North Sea and the Baltic; and their carrying trade they left to Italians, Germans, and Netherlanders. Their first strong impulse to develop into an industrial nation came from the great influx of Flemish artisans which began when the Netherlands took up arms against Spain; and, similarly, they thought little of maritime enterprise until they were tempted out on the high seas by the chance to carry slaves to the West Indian colonies of Spain, to capture the gold and silver that Spanish ships were bringing home from the New World, and, while thus benefiting themselves, to chastise those who so bitterly persecuted adherents of the new Reformed religion.

Much earlier than this there were voices that urged the importance of sea power as a bulwark against the enemies of England and a means of bringing its own trade into its own hands. One, for example, spoke in the fine poem called *Libellus de Politia Conservativa Maris*, written in the first half of the fifteenth century and, much later, included in Hak-

luyt's famous collection of English voyages. But its vigorous cry that Englishmen should make themselves 'masters of the narrow seas' antedated by nearly a century the first reference to America that survives in English literature. This occurs in a poem, called *An Interlude of the Four Elements* and written about the year 1520, which laments that Englishmen were not the first to take possession of such distant lands and to win the honor of extending their king's dominions. Now and again in the succeeding decades the same feeling found emphatic utterance; and it spread and deepened when the marriage of Philip II with Queen Mary, bringing hundreds of Spaniards to England, widened and clarified insular ideas regarding the possibilities of New World enterprise. Nevertheless for two generations the Cabots' voyages had no practical result except a development of the English fisheries off Newfoundland where French fishermen had long been active. They were practically forgotten during half a century of successful privateering, buccaneering, and slave-trading. Not until 1576 did Martin Frobisher start upon the first English voyage in search of gold mines and the northwest passage.

Up to this time Europe may well have thought that Spain and France were destined to divide the New World between them, England contenting itself with a forcible taking of tribute on the ocean and the American seaboard. Then the prospect changed. In 1578 Queen Elizabeth gave Sir Humphrey Gilbert a patent which authorized him to discover and to occupy any remote and uncivilized lands 'not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people.' When, in 1584, his patent was transferred to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, it still more distinctly specified lands 'not actually possessed of any Christian prince nor inhabited by Christian people.' Meanwhile Elizabeth, formally protesting against the all-embracing claims put forth by Spain when it demanded the return of the treasures captured by Drake, had laid down in 1580 as a rule of international action the doctrine that neither first discovery nor a mere verbal assertion of right

could hold good unless sustained by actual occupation: *præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat.* The Spaniards, she declared, had no right to countries which they had not really occupied but had merely touched upon here and there, building huts and naming rivers and capes.

In the patents Elizabeth bestowed she did not mention the Cabot voyages; but when Gilbert, in 1582, set up the arms of England on the shore of the harbor of St. John's in Newfoundland, reading his commission to the fishermen of many nations who frequented the place, he took possession for his queen by right of the discoveries of John Cabot. In 1584 Raleigh, inspired by French example, sent out an expedition which explored the coasts north of Florida. They were then named Virginia; and the English long applied this term to the whole seaboard up to Newfoundland while the French included the same coasts, with Newfoundland and Canada, in the general term New France. In 1585 and in 1587 Raleigh's emissaries vainly tried to establish a colony on Roanoke Sound.

These were the only English experiments in colonization during Elizabeth's reign. It was not a fear of what they might lead to, it was the rage and dread inspired by the depredations of her sea-rovers upon Spanish commerce, that led Philip II to try in 1588 to crush forever the maritime power of England by sending out his Great Armada. Yet English energy and ambition were growing fast, and they were greatly stimulated when, at the end of the century, Hakluyt began to publish the wonderful series of travellers' tales, historic documents, and expositions of the value of sea power, commerce, and exploration which he spent many devoted years in collecting.

When the seventeenth century opened, the authority of England was recognized by the fishermen along the Newfoundland coasts. In 1602 Gosnold vainly tried to plant a colony on an island at the mouth of Buzzard's Bay. In the next-succeeding years a number of Englishmen coasted and touched upon the shores now called Maine and Massachusetts.

But between Buzzard's Bay at the north and Roanoke Sound at the south no English foot trod American soil.

In 1604 James I concluded a treaty with Spain which, excluding his subjects from the Spanish West Indies and thus putting a damper on their privateering ardor, helped to strengthen the genuine interest in schemes for colonization that was now spreading among them. A notable result immediately followed. In 1606 James licensed a joint-stock company to begin the planting of two colonies between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude in

> . . . that part of America commonly called Virginia and other parts and territories in America either appertaining unto us or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people. . . .

Although the same charter covered both intended enterprises those who were concerned in them came to be called the London, London Virginia, or Virginia Company and the Plymouth Company. To the Virginia Company were reserved the lands between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees, to the Plymouth Company those between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees. The intermediate regions, embracing all between Chesapeake Bay and Long Island Sound, were left open as a sort of neutral territory, for, while each colony was to run a hundred miles along the coast and as far inland, each was enjoined to plant no settlement within a hundred miles of a settlement made by the other. The terms of the patent indicate the belief, more clearly expressed on the maps of the time, that a great body of water, called the Sea of Verrazano, lay only one or two hundred miles west of the Atlantic coast.

The bestowal of this charter was a momentous step, setting the kingdom of England on the path of empire and bringing its destinies into closer relation than before with those of the great continental powers. The commercial creed of the time rested on two fundamental articles: it assumed that the wealth of a nation was synonymous with the amount of specie it owned, and that monopoly was the only road to success — that the prosperity of one nation, therefore, must be achieved

at the expense of others. Hence the passionate interest excited by the New World when it proved to be a treasure house of silver and gold; and hence the struggle which soon began among the seafaring peoples of Europe to obtain footholds on American soil and to hinder others from doing the like. Transatlantic enterprise did not spring from a passion for conquest as such, a hunger to enlarge dominions, to extend political power. It sprang partly from a desire (much stronger in Catholic than in Protestant lands) to Christianize the heathen, and chiefly from a lust for the precious metals, a lust that soon embraced those transatlantic commodities by means of which the precious metals could be procured in the form of coin. Yet commercial enterprise of such a kind led, of course, to national expansion and international conflict. That common eagerness to monopolize the treasures of distant lands which first found definite expression when Pope Alexander VI divided them between Spain and Portugal complicated at once and after a time controlled the political policies of western Europe. Portugal and Spain, then Holland, and then France and England, each striving to make itself the principal 'seat of exchanges' for the products of the Orient and the Occident, became the leading nations of Europe; and mutual jealousies of commercial success, with the upgrowth of new powers and ambitions based upon it and of industrial developments stimulated by it (even, indirectly, in countries that never saw an American product), were mainly responsible for the ever-changing enmities and alliances, the ever-recurring declarations of war and treaties of peace, which kept all Europe in a turmoil down to the time when the first Napoleon was cast from his throne.

It was not very long before this influence of the newer continent was understood by the elder. It was a recognized factor in European politics even before Philip sent his Armada into the English Channel to decide whether Spain or England should be the future mistress of the seas: it was Philip's Indian gold, Sir Walter Raleigh had said, that endangered and disturbed the peace of Europe. Therefore there must

have been statesmen who knew, whether James I knew it or not, that when he signed the charter which first bestowed upon Englishmen definite areas of American soil, England placed a valuable stake upon the great gaming-table of continental politics and pledged itself to become a maritime power in a different sense from the one that its Drakes and Hawkinses had understood.

A year after the charter was given, in 1607, the London Company planted at Jamestown in South Virginia the first English colony that justified the name. Two years later Juet spoke of it, writing that the *Half Moon* turned northward after reaching 'the entrance into the king's river in Virginia where our Englishmen are.' In 1607 also the Plymouth Company tried without success to establish a colony in North Virginia, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc or Kennebec River. In 1609 the domain of the London Virginia Company was extended to include four hundred miles of seacoast and the breadth of the continent from ocean to ocean.

By this time the French had made a settlement at Port Royal on the great peninsula they called Acadia, now Nova Scotia, and Henri IV had bestowed a patent for 'Acadia, Canada, and other places in New France' which covered the continent from the forty-sixth down to the fortieth parallel, including the present sites of Montreal and Philadelphia. In 1608 Champlain set the foundations of Quebec; and in 1609 he and two other Frenchmen with a few score Huron and Ottawa Indians defeated a band of Mohawks at Ticonderoga near the great lake that bears his name. This, the first battle within the borders of New York State in which white men were engaged, was fought, it will be noticed, in the year when Hudson entered his Great River.

Throughout all this early period the people, Dutch, Walloon, and Flemish or Belgian, of the seventeen provinces called the Netherlands or Low Countries did not think of American trade or colonization. Since the Middle Ages those of the Flemish provinces had been the chief manufacturers of

Europe. Taking advantage of their position at the intersection of the great trade routes from western Europe to the Baltic and from the Mediterranean along the Rhine to England, they and their Dutch neighbors made themselves, during the first half of the sixteenth century, the common carriers of the northerly nations. Gathering along the Baltic the products of the North, from the ports of Portugal and Spain those of the East and the West, and distributing them, with their own manufactured wares, to all countries above the Mediterranean, they played on a wider field of waters the part that had earlier been played by Venice and by the Hanse towns of Germany. First Bruges and then Antwerp became the chief mart of Europe, and Antwerp grew also into its financial centre.

In 1568 these seventeen provinces began their heroic attempt to resist the spiritual tyranny of the Inquisition and to recover from their sovereign, Philip II of Spain, the rights and privileges they had secured in 1477 from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, — the freest constitution that had yet been framed in Europe. In 1576, when the Spaniards had sacked, ruined, almost obliterated Antwerp, the ten Walloon and Flemish provinces abandoned the struggle, remaining Catholic and being known thenceforward as the Spanish Netherlands. The seven Dutch and Protestant provinces — Holland, Zeeland, Guelderland, Utrecht, Overyssel, Friesland, and Groningen — united themselves by a compact called the Union of Utrecht, renounced their allegiance to Philip, and declared themselves an independent nation. Holland so far outranked the other provinces — as rich and powerful as all six together — that its name was soon used by foreigners to cover them all in a national sense. Rightfully, they were the United Netherlands. A loosely confederated republic, their visible head and leader was William of Nassau, Prince of Orange — William the Silent. Stadholder of Holland and Zealand, in these provinces he was chief magistrate and commander-in-chief by land and sea, dignities which, originally held of the sovereign, were now made

hereditary in his family. Elsewhere he had no authority save that which political influence and his commanding personality won for him. Nor was the highest legislative body in the Republic, the federal assembly called the States General, a real source of political power. It was a mere focus of the power which resided primarily in the municipal councils that appointed the delegates to the provincial assemblies or States which in their turn appointed the members of the States General.

Up to this time when the rebellious Dutchmen formally declared their independence and when, as it chanced, Portugal and its colonies fell to the crown of Spain, they had continued to trade largely at Lisbon; and so indispensable were their services as ocean carriers that even after this time they supplied, under foreign flags, Spaniards as well as Portuguese, at home and in the West Indies, with the necessaries of life. Merchants, mechanics, and artisans from the crushed and desolated Spanish Netherlands streamed by scores of thousands into their towns, bringing reënforcements of capital, energy, and skill, and the centre of traffic and finance transferred itself from Antwerp to Amsterdam. Even the interference of Spain with the carrying trade of a people who by 1590 were annually building a thousand new vessels each year inured to their profit. It compelled them to traffic in the Mediterranean and to seek for themselves the wares of still more distant parts, and so developed them into explorers and traders of widest enterprise. Like the English but with more immediate success they learned to follow in the track of the Portuguese around the Cape of Good Hope to the countries which supplied Europe with its perfumes, dyes, drugs, and raw and manufactured cottons and silks, with its rugs and hangings, valuable woods, precious objects of metal, porcelain, and glass, and above all with the pepper and other spices which alone made palatable the coarse and monotonous food of the time. Thus the war fostered instead of destroying the commerce of the young Republic while the fruits of its commerce enabled it to keep up the war.

Soon after the year 1590 Willem Usselinx, a native of Antwerp, a merchant, navigator, and conspicuous promoter of commercial undertakings, urged these ambitious seafarers to form a great national company to prosecute the West India trade. This scheme was postponed, but small private companies were formed for the same purpose; and in 1602 an East India Company was incorporated with eight times as much capital as the English East India Company, chartered two years before. Uniting the strength and the wealth of all earlier associations engaged in the Oriental trade, this company held the exclusive right to traffic for twenty-one years east of the Cape and west of the Straits of Magellan. At the end of its first year it paid its shareholders dividends of seventy-five per cent; at the end of six years its capital had risen in value from six to thirty millions of guilders.

Both England and France had aided the rebellious Dutchmen, although less for love of them than for hatred of Spain; and the defeat of the Armada, upon which Philip wasted resources that he might more wisely have expended on his armies, was a potent factor in the success of the United Provinces. England thought the creation of their East India Company, intended especially to compete with its own, a poor return for its military aid; and the event is, in fact, a landmark in the history of that commercial rivalry between the two nations which for generations was to grow more and more pronounced.

When Philip II died in 1598 France made peace with Spain; England, as has been told, did the same in 1604; and in 1606 Philip III wanted to come to terms with the revolted provinces. The negotiations fell through for the Dutch would not relinquish their trade in the East Indies. But in the spring of 1609, five days after Henry Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in the *Half Moon*, Spain and the Republic concluded a truce for a term of twelve years. Thus the United Netherlands secured a temporary recognition of their independence and of their right to engage in Oriental traffic; and the supremacy of Amsterdam was assured by an agreement which, closing

the river Scheldt to commerce, completed the ruin of the Spanish Netherlands.

The seven Dutch provinces were then full of bold and hardy men, natives of their soil or refugees from other countries, whose only trade was fighting and whose one desire was still to fight the Spaniard — if no longer at home then on foreign seas and shores, if no longer for liberty then for glory and gold. The great Age of Adventure had not yet closed; what Sebastian Cabot called 'the great flame of desire to accomplish some notable thing' had not burned out; and the golden era of circumterrestrial traffic had begun. It is hard now to conceive of the vigor with which the new little nation threw itself into a world-wide commercial contest with its older and larger rivals, hard to realize the magnitude of its success, the extent of the power it wielded during the early part of the seventeenth century when it almost supplanted the English in commerce with Russia, wrested their West African posts and a great part of Brazil from the Portuguese and built up a splendid empire on the foundations they had laid in the East Indies, and alone among Western nations had entrance to Japan; when it owned almost half the mercantile tonnage of Europe, absorbed the West India carrying trade, practically monopolized shipbuilding, and gathered incalculable wealth from the fisheries upon which its very existence was based as that of other nations was based upon agriculture. It is more clearly remembered that at this same time the Dutch, achieving the first place in science, jurisprudence, philosophy, literature, and art as well as in trade and finance, made the University of Leyden the soul of the world's learning and culture as the Bank of Amsterdam was the heart that controlled the international circulation of wealth.

The Bank of Amsterdam, the first in northern Europe, was established eighty-five years before the Bank of England, in 1609 — the year when the truce with Spain was signed and when Hudson found his Great River. Although France and England then stood ready, in theory, to contend with the traders of Holland for any spot they might wish to exploit

upon the American coast, between Manhattan and Florida no spot except Jamestown was occupied by white men, north of Manhattan there were no white men nearer than Acadia and Quebec, and between Buzzard's Bay and Chesapeake Bay, which John Smith explored in 1608, no spot was known to either Frenchmen or Englishmen. This accessible and fertile region, covered though it was by Spanish, French, and English verbal claims, was first explored and first settled by the Dutch.

Their earliest official move was discreetly made and peaceably met. In 1610 the States General suggested that the English and Dutch should join in colonizing Hudson's Great River as well as in prosecuting the East India trade. Nothing came of the proposal. The colonizing ambitions of England had only just begun to awaken, and as yet its trade did not even remotely rival Holland's. Its ambassador at the Hague was warned that if the two nations should 'join upon equal terms' the 'art and industry' of the Dutch would probably 'wear out ours.' The incident is interesting chiefly because it shows that at this moment England did not resent the fact that Holland was casting its eyes toward Virginia.

The earliest special map of the coasts so called was sent to Philip III of Spain in March, 1611, by Don Alonso de Velasco, his ambassador in England. As Velasco then wrote, it was a copy, secretly obtained, of one made by a surveyor whom James I had sent to Virginia in the previous year and who had returned 'about three months ago.' It portrays the Atlantic coast from Cape Fear to the northern point of Newfoundland. It shows the 'River of Canada' and, without any name, Hudson's Great River, both of them flowing from the same supposed vast inland sea or inlet of the Pacific Ocean. With considerable accuracy it shows Sandy Hook, Staten Island, and the lower and upper bays that Hudson had explored, but it makes of Long Island a little islet and ignores Manhattan. None of these features bears any name; indeed, no European name is anywhere set between the entrance of Chesapeake Bay and an island off Narragan-

sett Bay which Verrazano had called Luisa and subsequent explorers Claudia — Block Island or perhaps Martha's Vineyard.

The scanty documents relating to the Dutch voyages to the Great River which immediately followed Hudson's and the brief references of contemporary writers have been variously interpreted. But it seems certain that soon after the *Half Moon* was released at Dartmouth and returned to Amsterdam, some merchants of this place sent out a trading ship, probably manned in part by Hudson's sailors and commanded by his mate; and that it was in 1610 or 1611 that two Netherland mariners chartered on their own account a ship in which they visited the Great River and brought back two Indian lads. These mariners were Hendrick Corstiaensen, or Christiaensen, who on his return from a West India voyage had already skirted the coasts near Manhattan, and Adriaen Block. When, soon afterwards, certain merchants of Amsterdam and of Hoorn sent out five vessels filled with goods for barter with the savages, Christiaensen and Block commanded two that went in company, Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey another. Lying in the great bay the traders sent their shallops in search of peltry into the neighboring lesser bays and inlets and far up the river.

Early in the year 1614 Block's ship, the *Tiger*, was accidentally burned in the bay; but doubtless the rigging and sails were saved, for by the time that the waters were free from ice in the spring Block and his men had built and equipped another vessel, launching it from Manhattan or, more probably, from the neighboring Long Island shore. It was a decked yacht of about sixteen tons burden with a thirty-eight foot keel, measuring forty-four feet in length over all and eleven and a half feet in beam. Block called it the *Onrust*, a name that has come down to us, loosely translated, as the *Restless*. More accurately *onrust* means "restlessness," "trouble" or "strife"; and the *Trouble*, it seems probable, was what its skipper meant the boat's name to be. Onrust,

it may be added, is now and doubtless has been for centuries the name of an islet in the Texel with which, of course, Block was familiar.

A ship of some sort had been built by the Spaniards in Carolina early in the sixteenth century, and one, called the *Virginia*, by the Englishmen who tried to plant a colony on the Kennebec in 1608. The *Restless*, so far as is known, was the third white man's vessel launched on American waters. Certainly it was the first launched on the waters of Manhattan; it was the first that ever passed through the terrifying tide-rips between Manhattan and Long Island which Block called *Hellegat* (Hell Hole), copying perhaps the name of a branch of the Scheldt; and it was the first that, exploring Long Island Sound, made manifest that the island itself was not a part of the mainland. Following courses that none but Indian prows had known before, Block also explored a large stream which, contrasting it with the salty Great River, he called the Fresh River, and a bay which he called Nassau. Both of these are now known by Indian titles — the Connecticut River and Narragansett Bay. Finding other rivers and many islands, one of which perpetuates his name, he pushed around Cape Cod into Boston Harbor which he called *Vos Haven* (Fox Haven). Turning about after he reached Nahant Bay, he fell in with his friend Christiaensen and returned with him to Holland, leaving his little *Restless* in the charge of Cornelis Hendricksen who seems to have been his mate. The southern shore of Long Island was also explored at this time, by Cornelis Mey cruising eastward as far as Martha's Vineyard.

In March, 1614, the States General, upon petition of many merchants, passed an ordinance which said that whosoever might discover any 'new passages, havens, lands, or places' should have the exclusive right to frequent them for four voyages. Encouraged by Block's report of his explorations, the merchants of Amsterdam and Hoorn who had already received cargoes of furs from the Great River then formed themselves into an association called the United New Nether-

land Company, claimed the offered privileges, and in October received a charter which declared

> . . . that they alone shall have the right to resort to, or cause to be frequented, the aforesaid newly discovered countries situate in America between New France and Virginia, the seacoasts whereof lie in the latitude of from forty to forty-five degrees, now named New Netherland, as is to be seen by a Figurative Map, hereunto annexed, and that for four voyages within the term of three years commencing the first January 1615 next coming, or sooner, to the exclusion of all others. . . .

This is the earliest existing mention of the name *Nieuw Nederlandt*. Just when or by whom it had first been conferred cannot now be divined. Its proper form in English is New Netherland, not New Netherlands; in the language of formality it was *Nova Belgica* or *Novus Belgium*. It was bestowed a little earlier than the name New England, for almost at the moment when it was officially recognized the Prince of Wales confirmed the name that Captain John Smith suggested should differentiate North from South Virginia. Smith had been coasting the New England shore while Block was exploring Long Island Sound; and his map was executed at the same time as the first Dutch map of the regions that were soon to become a Dutch province. This was the 'Figurative Map' referred to in the charter of the New Netherland Company. Laid before the States General with Block's report upon his explorations, it had probably been prepared from rough charts that he brought home. If, as seems probable, it is a large paper map bearing no date which, long forgotten, was found in 1841 among the royal archives at the Hague, it embraces the coast from below the Delaware capes up to the western part of Long Island with an interior region extending much farther north. It shows Staten Island as well as a piece of Long Island but puts a cluster of islets where Manhattan should be. It gives names to none of these places, but several Dutch names, including *Nassau* and *Kinderhoek*, are written along the Hudson River,

and on the coast that is now New Jersey *Eyerhaven* (Egg Harbor) and *Sandhoek* (Sandy Hook).

The charter of the New Netherland Company did not claim New Netherland for Holland or deny the right of other nations to traffic with its aborigines, but merely forbade any other Hollanders to interfere with the rights of the patentees. Nor did it create a joint-stock company but merely what was then called in England a 'regulated company,' each member of which traded on his own account with his own capital according to rules laid down by the company as such. In this manner a number of ships were sent to New Netherland during the three years that the charter covered, and they brought back rich freights of furs.

Hendrick Christiaensen served for a time in New Netherland as factor for the merchants at home; and late in 1614 or early in 1615 he erected the first building of which any valid record remains. It was a little fort or blockhouse placed upon Castle Island which, close to the western shore of the river, is now within the limits of the city of Albany. Here, as some historians believe, the Dutchmen found the ruins of an old and forgotten French trading post. Their own, built for defence as well as for the storage of furs and protected by two large and eleven smaller cannon, was thirty-six by twenty-six feet in size, surrounded by a stockade fifty-eight feet square and a moat eighteen feet broad, and called Fort Nassau. Jacob Eelkins was in charge of its little garrison of ten or twelve traders during Christiaensen's absences. It became at once a gathering point for troops of Indians intent upon barter.

Possibly another post was set at this time farther down the river, in the Esopus region where Kingston now stands; and evidently the Hollanders were accustomed to land if not to live on Manhattan, for by order of his employers Christiaensen had brought out some goats and rabbits which it was hoped would multiply on the island. No shred of contemporaneous evidence, however, supports the story that four houses had been built on a certain specified spot near the lower end of

Manhattan and that their occupants formally acknowledged that the place belonged to the English. These statements were first made in a book published in 1648 which was called a *Description of the Province of New Albion*, and professed to be written by one Beauchamp Plantagenet of Belvil in that province. Neither Plantagenet nor Belvil existed, and New Albion was merely a province-on-paper defined in a patent for American lands given in 1634 by the viceroy of Ireland, in the name of Charles I, to Sir Edmund Plowden or Ploeyden. The heroes of the story thus fathered, unquestionably with the wish to bolster up Plowden's claims, are 'Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Samuel Argall, Captains and counsellors of Virginia.' This was the Samuel Argall, afterwards governor of Virginia, who in 1613 saved New England for the English by breaking up the French settlements at Mt. Desert. On his return voyage to Jamestown, says the supposed Plantagenet, Argall and his companion

> . . . landed at Manhatas Isle in Hudson's River where they found four houses built and a pretended Dutch governour under the West India Company of Amsterdam share or part, who kept trading-boats and trucking with the Indians; but the said knights told him their commission was to expel him and all alien intruders on his Majesty's dominions and territories; this being part of Virginia, and the river an English discovery of Hudson, an Englishman. The Dutchman contented them for their charge and voyage and by his letter sent to Virginia and recorded submitted himself, company and plantation to his Majesty and to the governor and government of Virginia. . . .

This tale was embodied in the edition of 1669 of Heylin's *Cosmography* which names the year 1613 as that of Argall's visit, in 1671 in Ogilby's *America*, in 1747 in Stith's *History of Virginia*, in 1757 in Smith's *History of New York*, in 1780 in Chalmers's *Political Annals* of the colonies. It has since been repeated many times, as, for example, in John Fiske's recent book on the Dutch and Quaker Colonies. Yet its falsity was demonstrated more than half a century ago. In 1613 and for nearly a decade longer there was no West India Company in Holland and no Dutch governor in America;

and the records of Virginia contain neither a reference to any act of submission on the part of any Dutch trader nor a sign that in 1613 or any later year Argall visited Manhattan. In a letter written in 1632 to the secretary of state in England Captain John Mason of the Plymouth Company says, indeed, that Argall and some of his friends had intended to start a plantation on the 'Manahata River'; but he gives the date as 1621, he says that at this 'same time' the Dutch had just intruded there, and he explains that their arrival caused a 'demur' in Argall's 'proceedings.' Of course belief in the four houses which Argall was said to have seen on Manhattan topples down in the general destruction of the story.

More and more vessels bound for America were now sailing from English ports, and a few English fishing stations or temporary fishermen's hamlets were scattered, probably, along the coasts of New England. But north of Jamestown, which was the centre of a population of about four hundred souls, Englishmen had not as yet established a colony or even built a blockhouse. Much greater was the activity of the French. They had set posts on the shores of Maine and explored Lake Ontario. Planning to Christianize the Indians, they had sent out missionaries as well as adventurers and traders. In 1611 Montreal was founded. In 1612 Louis XIII granted to Madame de Guercherville, a figurehead for the Jesuits, all the region between the St. Lawrence and Florida. In 1615 Champlain discovered Lake Huron and penetrated within the present borders of New York as far as Oneida Lake.

Soon after the building of the Dutchmen's Fort Nassau far up the Great River three traders, wishing to explore the interior country, seem to have pushed their way from this point southward along Indian trails to the banks of the Schuylkill where they were captured by the savages. The news of their mischance reached Manhattan; and, partly to rescue them, partly to gain acquaintance with the region, Cornelis Hendricksen was sent in the little *Restless* to Delaware Bay and

River. Possibly Cornelis Mey had already explored these parts. More probably Hendricksen was the first white man who sailed up the river as far as its point of junction with the Schuylkill (now the site of Philadelphia) where he found and saved his captive compatriots.

He had gone beyond the limits of the territory assigned for exploitation to the New Netherland Company. Therefore, when he returned in the same year to Holland the Company asked for an extension of its trading grounds, laying Hendricksen's report before the States General and with it, probably, another so-called Figurative Map, on parchment, which was discovered in 1841 with the paper map already described and which covers a longer stretch of coast — from the Virginian capes to the Penobscot River. Here we find Manhattan on too large a scale, Long Island divided by several inlets, the Mohawk as well as the Hudson River, and what appears to be meant for the Susquehanna. There is no hint that a post yet existed on Manhattan although Fort Nassau is marked and named and its dimensions are given. It is possible that this parchment map may be the older of the two Figurative Maps, the one presented in 1614 with Block's report, but the way in which it shows Manhattan and describes Fort Nassau may be held to signify its later date.

Neither of the Figurative Maps was published, for every government interested in transatlantic enterprise was trying to keep its rivals ignorant of its achievements and plans. Yet the English government knew what Dutchmen as well as Englishmen were doing. In 1616 its agents at the Hague informed it that some private persons of Amsterdam had set on foot a trade in North America between forty and forty-five degrees of latitude.

In 1617 Fort Nassau, endangered on its low-lying island by spring floods, was abandoned in favor of a similar post then set about two miles below the site of Albany on the west bank of the river at the mouth of the Tawasentha, a creek which preserves its Dutch name, Norman's Kill.

At the opening of the year 1618, when the American privileges of the New Netherland Company expired, it asked that its charter be renewed. Instead, its members got only individual licenses covering brief periods of time. In the summer of 1620 Cornelis Mey returned to report upon a voyage during which he had entered Chesapeake Bay and visited the Englishmen on the James River. His name is still borne by the southern point of New Jersey, Cape May. His request for a license giving him the sole right to trade in the regions he had explored conflicted with so many others of a similar kind that the States General granted none of them. Moreover, the States General had a great enterprise in mind which was soon to quash the claims and the schemes of all such private adventurers. They were considering the incorporation of that West India Company which had come near to being established some thirty years before.

To the revival of this enterprise may also be traced, in part at least, the reasons why the first scheme for colonizing New Netherland resulted only in the planting of the first colony in New England.

In 1609 a congregation of English Separatist refugees — 'Brownists' the Dutch commonly called them — migrated from Amsterdam to Leyden. Its pastor was John Robinson, its ruling elder was William Brewster, and two of its leading members were William Bradford and Edward Winslow. At Leyden, as Nathaniel Morton wrote in *New England's Memorial*, these exiles 'did quietly and sweetly enjoy their church liberties under the States.' Yet there were many reasons why they were not content — why they thought that spiritually and materially it would be for the benefit of their posterity should they establish themselves somewhere in what Bradford called 'those vast and unpeopled countries of America which are fruitful and fit for habitation.' In 1619 they obtained from the London Virginia Company a patent authorizing them to settle on its territories south of the fortieth parallel. Just when they were greatly discouraged by the

difficulty of arranging for their voyage and settlement 'some Dutchmen,' says Bradford again in his *History of Plymouth Plantation,* 'made them fair offers about going with them,' but a merchant coming from London after 'much conference . . . persuaded them to go on (as it seems) and not to meddle with the Dutch.'

There was more to the episode than this. The Separatists asked aid of some Dutch merchants, and the New Netherland Company petitioned the States General on their behalf. The Company had learned, it said, that King James was 'inclined to people . . . with Englishmen' the American region in which it was interested; it feared that its ships might be surprised in distant, unprotected harbors; it wished to establish something more stable than posts that were merely headquarters for shifting bands of sailors and fur-traders; and it thought that it might turn to profit, for itself and for the Republic, the desires of the Leyden Separatists. The Reverend John Robinson, said an explanatory petition addressed to the Prince of Orange as admiral of the navy of the Republic, was 'well versed in the Dutch language' and 'well inclined to proceed to New Netherland to live.' He asserted that he could induce more than four hundred families to accompany him,

> . . . both out of this country and England, provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States-General, in the propagation of the true, pure Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country in true learning and in converting them to the Christian faith, and thus, through the mercy of the Lord, to the greater glory of this country's government, to plant there a new commonwealth all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States-General.

Therefore the petitioners urged that these Englishmen might be taken under the protection of the Dutch government, and that with them two ships of war might be despatched to secure to this government the aforesaid countries.

Probably the Reverend John Robinson inspired the phrasing of this document. With its talk of founding a new commonwealth and propagating a 'pure' form of faith it has an alien sound among the colonial records of tolerant and commercial Holland. At all events, New Netherland was not destined to receive as its first settlers a compact body of Englishmen intent upon governing themselves under whatsoever potentate they might hold their lands. Twice the States General declined to supply the necessary ships of war. The Separatists fell back upon their patent from the Virginia Company and secured the financial backing of a company of merchant-adventurers formed for the purpose in London. Although John Robinson remained in Holland, in the autumn of 1620 some seventy of his parishioners with a lesser number of emigrants from England set sail for the New World in the *Mayflower*.

The declared intention was to plant the colony in the neighborhood of the mouth of Hudson's River in the 'northern parts of Virginia'; and when the Pilgrims understood that the first land they made was the point of Cape Cod, far outside the territories of the Virginia Company, they resolved, says Bradford, 'to stand for the southward . . . to find some place about Hudson's River.' The danger of rounding the Cape deterred them, and before the end of the year they chose for their settlement the shores of the harbor at the base of the Cape which John Smith had called New Plymouth.

Neither in Bradford's pages nor in any others of contemporaneous date, Dutch or English, official or unofficial, can a word be found to support the story, long believed, that the merchants of Holland had bribed the *Mayflower's* skipper not to take its passengers to New Netherland. This idle tale was first put forth by Morton whose book was published in 1669. If intrigue did indeed guide the *Mayflower* to New England, the intriguers were some of the members of the Plymouth Company eager to begin the settlement of their own territories with so promising a body of colonists.

The scheme for the creation of a warlike Dutch West India Company, which prevented a favorable consideration of all lesser schemes for Western enterprise, had never dropped out of sight since it was broached by William Usselinx. It could not take shape during the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain, but was one of the many issues involved in a struggle between two great political parties whose dissensions, held in check while the war continued, in the years of the truce almost disrupted the Republic.

These parties were known as the Orangist, led by the stadholder Maurice of Nassau, the son of William the Silent, and the Arminian or Remonstrant, led by the great statesman John of Barneveld. As the name Arminian shows, their rivalry crystallized around a theological quarrel of a hair-splitting sort that suggests the court of Justinian rather than the forums of a free republic which during the long agony of its war with Catholic Spain had made itself an asylum for schismatics, heretics, and Jews, for the persecuted, oppressed, and distressed of all Europe. Ostensibly the great issue was whether within the bosom of the established Calvinistic Church, the Reformed Church of Holland, it was permissible to deny, not the dogma of predestination in general, for this both parties accepted, but the dogma of 'absolute' predestination. In reality, however, the determination of the orthodox clergy to prevent the tolerance of heresy within their fold was based upon the knowledge that such tolerance would surely lead to the official recognition of many churches, and that if there were more than one recognized church all must be subject to the civil power. The orthodox church was determined to stand alone so that it might rise above the civil power, while Arminius had taught that the clergy should depend upon the state. Here was a highly practical and important issue inextricably entangled with every other major and minor public question of the time. The seemingly Byzantinesque quarrel about man's chances of eternal bliss was really a struggle between sacerdotal tyranny and the demand for freedom in faith and worship; and it was the expression of a

wider struggle between centralizing and decentralizing tendencies in politics, between the military and the civil element for the control of public affairs, between the partisans of the House of Orange and of the municipalities, between Maurice of Nassau and John of Barneveld.

Barneveld had secured the truce of 1609 and, at the head of the decentralizing, anti-military, unorthodox party, he worked to develop it into a permanent peace. He believed that long-continued war would foster in his compatriots a spirit of greed, restlessness, and ambition which would turn friendly powers into enemies and, making the services of the House of Orange indispensable, would lay at home the foundations of a military despotism. Although an advocate of free trade and navigation and a hater of monopolies, he had favored as a war measure the establishment of the East India Company. During the truce he became, in 1616, one of the members of the little New Netherland Company whose only object was traffic with the aborigines, but opposed the creation of a West India Company, which Usselinx and others were urging again, for he knew that its chief aim would be plunder, not trade, and its certain result a revival of hostilities with Spain. Such a revival was what the Orangists desired, partly for commercial reasons, partly for reasons of military ambition, partly because many believed that the independence of the Republic was not yet secure. And therefore they were bent upon the establishment of a strong and aggressive West India Company.

The great partisan conflict in which this question figured resulted in a triumph for the Orangists. In May, 1619, the international Synod of Dort thrust the Arminians from the established church. In the same month Barneveld died on the scaffold. War with Spain began again when the truce expired, now as a branch of the widespread and terrible struggle called the Thirty Years' War. And on June 3, 1621, the States General bestowed a charter valid for twenty-four years upon the Incorporated West India Company.

This charter when compared with the one that had been

given in 1602 to the East India Company bears witness, even more in its spirit than in its form, to the growing ambitions of the Republic. The principal aim of the elder association was trade although to defend its merchantmen and its colonial posts it had to keep up a considerable armament. Of course the new company was also to trade; and it was given the exclusive right to do so, and to authorize others to do so, along the American coast from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, along the Atlantic shores of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, in the intermediate islands, and in all places from the Cape westward to the eastern end of New Guinea. But its main purpose was to harass and to injure the Spaniard by capturing his ships, by conquering his colonies, by breaking his connections with his American mines.

More as though it were an allied if subordinate power than a mere trading company it was authorized to make, in the name of the States General, contracts and alliances with the rulers of the strange countries its ships might visit. It was permitted — not ordered as some translations of the charter say — by founding colonies to promote the settlement of 'fertile and uninhabited districts,' and was given the right to rule, under the supervision of the States General, all its possible posts and plantations. On the other hand it was to support its own officials, ships, and troops, and to build its own forts and defences. The States General did not guarantee its safe possession of any territories it might acquire, and strictly forbade it to engage in war without permission. But they promised to secure it against all Dutch competitors, to assist it with a million guilders to be paid within five years, in case of war to supply it with sixteen ships of war, to supply troops also if the Company would support them, and to reimburse it for expenses incurred for the security of the state.

Five chambers of directors were to be formed in different parts of the Republic. Executive power was lodged in a body called the College or Assembly of the XIX, to sit at Amsterdam and to embrace eighteen delegates from the

chambers with one representative of the States General. The flag of the Company was the national standard — three equal horizontal stripes, orange, white, and blue — charged with its own initials, G.W.C. (*Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie*).

New Netherland was not named in the charter, which granted no definite areas of soil, but of course was included in the countries that the new-born Company was to colonize and to control should it so desire.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

THE number attached to a work mentioned in the Reference Notes accompanying each chapter indicates its place in the general list of authorities at the end of Vol. II, where the titles are more fully given. The number is not repeated if a book is mentioned more than once in the Notes to a single chapter.

The principal abbreviations used are:

Cal. Hist. MSS. = *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany* [now in the State Library] (390).

Cal. S. P. Col. = *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, Preserved in the Public Record Office* [London] (485). As the volumes of this series are not numbered, they can be indicated only by citing the years that they severally cover.

Col. Docs. = *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* [usually called *Colonial Documents*] (398).

Doc. Hist. = *Documentary History of the State of New York* (397).

Ecc. Records = *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York* (167).

Manual of Ref. Church = *Manual of the Reformed Church in America* (96).

Mem. Hist. = *Memorial History of the City of New York,* ed. by J. G. Wilson (408).

Narr. and Crit. Hist. = *Narrative and Critical History of America,* ed. by Justin Winsor (49).

N. Y. Genea. and Bio. Record = *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (199).

Savage, *Genea. Dict.* = Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England* (200).

Valentine's Manual = *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York,* compiled by D. T. Valentine (508).

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GENERAL AUTHORITIES: De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt* (427); Van Meteren, *Nederlandscher . . . Oorlogen ende Geschiedenissen* (347); O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, I (382); Brodhead, *Hist. of New York*, I (405); *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, III, IV (49); Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (181); Blok, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk* (348); other histories of Holland.

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EARLY EXPLORATIONS: De Costa, *Verrazano the Explorer* [with bibliography] (519), *The Letter of Verrazano* (520), *The Voyages of Verrazano* (520), *Bibliography of Verrazano* (516), and *Explorations of the North American Coast* in *Mem. Hist.*, I (408); Brevoort, *Verrazano the Navigator* (521), and *New Light on the Voyages of Verrazano* (518); Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazzano* (522); Gravier, *Les Voyages de Giovanni Verrazano* (517); G. Dexter, *Cortereale, Verrazano, Gomez, Thevet* (138); Kohl, *Discovery of the East Coast of North America* (159); Holmes, *The Pompey Stone* (443).—VERRAZANO'S LETTER: trans. in Hakluyt, *Voyages*, and in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1841 (214).

NORUMBEGA: The speculations in Weise, *Discoveries of America to the Year 1525* (158) and in Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, Boston, 1899, should be tested by De Costa, *Norumbega and its English Explorers* in *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, III.

HENRY HUDSON: Journals of his early voyages in Purchas, *Pilgrims*, and in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1809. — Original documents relating to him in Asher, *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (225). — De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt;* Van Meteren, *Nederlandscher . . . Oorlogen;* Asher, *Sketch of Henry Hudson the Navigator* (228); De Costa, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson* (227); Murphy,

Henry Hudson in Holland (224); Read, *Historical Enquiry concerning Henry Hudson* (226).

JUET: his Journal in Purchas, *Pilgrims*, in Asher, *Henry Hudson*, and in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1809 and 1841.

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VELASCO OR SIMANCAS MAP: Original in General Archives, Simancas. — Brown, *Genesis of the United States.*

UNITED NEW NETHERLAND COMPANY: Original of Charter in Royal Archives, the Hague; facsimile in *Mem. Hist.*, I (408) and in Shonnard and Spooner, *Westchester County* (538); trans. in *Col. Docs.*, I, and in *Conquest of New Netherland* (380).

FIGURATIVE MAPS: Originals in Royal Archives, the Hague; reproduced in *Col. Docs.*, I, in *Doc. Hist.*, I (397), and in O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, I. — Brodhead, *Two Ancient Maps of New Netherland* in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1845 (215), and *Hist. of New York*, I, Appendix; Fernow, *Critical Essay on Sources* accompanying his *New Netherland* (383).

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Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts (513), and, imperfectly translated, in Hazard, *Historical Collections*, and in O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, I, Appendix. — *Col. Docs.*, I, II, XII; Van Meteren, *Nederlandscher . . . Oorlogen;* Lambrechtsen, *Korte Beschrijving . . . van Nieuw-Nederland* (424); Asher, *Dutch Books . . . Relating to New Netherland* (7); De Jonge, *Nederlandsche Zeewezen* (350); Jameson, *Willem Usselinx* (507); Van Pelt, *Antecedents of New Netherland* (384); Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America;* Cheyney, *European Background of American History;* Motley, *John of Barneveld* (63); histories of Holland.

CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH OF THE PROVINCE

1619–1624

'Tis the finest land for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon. — *Henry Hudson. 1609.* (*Quoted by De Laet. 1625.*)

In 1619 Captain Thomas Dermer, sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the leading spirit of the Plymouth Company, to seek for the northwest passage, skirted the coasts from the Kennebec to Virginia and with the help of an Indian pilot ran an open pinnace through Long Island Sound, the East River, and the Narrows down to Sandy Hook. Describing this voyage, the first attempted in these waters by an English vessel, Dermer wrote that above the 'dangerous cataract' — meaning the tide-rips that the Dutch called Hellegat — a multitude of savages 'let fly' at him from the bank and that while he was in the bay he talked with others; but he did not mention seeing or hearing of any white men. Of his return voyage in 1620 two accounts exist. One, written by Gorges, says that Dermer, meeting with 'some Hollanders that were settled in a place we call Hudson's River, in trade with the natives,' forbade them the place as belonging by the king of England's order to his own subjects, and that the Dutchmen answered they did not so understand things, had found no Englishmen in the country, and therefore hoped 'they had not offended.' The other account, an anonymous pamphlet on the discovery and planting of New England, says less definitely that Dermer held 'a conference about the state of the coast' and their dealings with the Indians with some Dutchmen who had 'a trade in Hudson's River some years

before that time,' and that their answer 'gave him good content.'

These appear to be the earliest printed narratives in which Henry Hudson's river bears his own name. Probably they supplied the foundation for the story that Argall had visited Manhattan at an earlier day. They do not say where Dermer met the Dutchmen. Most likely it was in the Chesapeake region where Cornelis Mey was cruising in 1620, although a report on 'Mr. Dimmer's' (Dermer's) voyages, read before the Virginia Company in London in 1621, declares that he had entered the Hudson as well as the Delaware 'within which rivers were found divers ships of Amsterdam and Hoorn.'

Wherever they may have been spoken, Dermer's warning and the Hollanders' reply were unofficial utterances. But Dermer's report quickened the desire of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and some other members of the Plymouth Company to reëstablish it with more clearly defined boundaries; and upon their petition in November, 1620, just before the Pilgrims from Leyden made their landing on Cape Cod, James I bestowed a charter creating a company with a new name, the Council for New England, and authorizing it to plant and to govern the territories from the fortieth parallel (about fifty miles south of Manhattan) to the forty-eighth and from ocean to ocean. Again the patentees were forbidden to take any places which the subjects of any other Christian prince occupied or possessed, but, said the charter, King James was certain that such were nowhere in possession 'by any authority from their sovereigns, lords, or princes.' Evidently this was not an ingenuous statement for the patent included most of Canada as well as New Netherland, and the French government had not only authorized but directed the New World enterprises of its subjects. France, in fact, protested in regard to the new charter. The Dutch Republic said nothing.

In 1621 the Council for New England gave the colony at Plymouth a patent for the lands on which they had settled without defining their extent; James, as the king of Scotland, gave Sir William Alexander a patent for 'New Scotland'

which embraced what is now New Brunswick as well as Nova Scotia, the Acadia of the French; Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason obtained for themselves the country between the Kennebec and the Merrimac; and Sir George Calvert secured part of Newfoundland. Alexander tried without success to colonize his territories; but colonies — the beginnings of New Hampshire — were soon planted at the mouth of the Piscataqua and at Dover six miles up the stream; and by 1623 there were little settlements on Massachusetts Bay and one at least on the coast of Maine.

In 1621 England again formally denied the rights of Spain in America as based upon the gift of Pope Alexander VI; and, paraphrasing and emphasizing James's instructions to his patentees and Elizabeth's doctrine that 'possession' not mere 'prescription' gave a title, parliament declared that 'occupancy confers a good title by the law of nations and of nature.' Such announcements were necessary as the Spaniards were protesting against the English settlements in Virginia and Bermuda, but on its own behalf England interpreted them broadly. Saying nothing about the enterprises of the French, it entered a protest against those of the Dutch. In December, 1621, the privy council informed Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague, that the Hollanders had left a colony in New England during the past year and were about to send out vessels, and instructed him to impress upon the States General the fact that by right of first occupation King James had a good and sufficient title to all lands between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees, and to require that the Dutch plantations be discontinued and the intending ships detained. Carleton answered that some companies of Amsterdam merchants had, indeed, begun a trade between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, had named localities there and kept 'factors there continually resident,' but that he could not learn of any colony and did not believe that one had been 'either already planted . . . or so much as intended.' All that the States General would say was that they knew of no Dutch settlement that infringed English rights.

In fact, no colony, no permanent settlement, had yet been planted in New Netherland. The existence of the West India Company was at first so precarious that almost two years after it received its charter only one-third of its desired capital had been subscribed. By virtue, however, of a provision in the charter, ships of individual merchants were sailing under special licenses and trafficking with the savages on the Great River, the South or Delaware River, Long Island Sound, the Fresh or Connecticut River, Narragansett Bay, and Buzzard's Bay. On the South River a fort was projected. As the second site chosen for the traders' blockhouse far up the Great River proved inconvenient in its turn, in 1622 they planned a stronger fortification, to be named Fort Orange and to stand a little farther north, on the present site of Albany. Jacob Eelkins, who had done well by the Indians as director in this region, dealt treacherously with them on the Fresh River and was dismissed from the Company's service. Farther east, at Manomet at the head of Buzzard's Bay, called Sloup Bay on the second Figurative Map, the Dutchmen now had a trading station separated only by the base of Cape Cod, a stretch of some twenty miles, from the Englishmen at New Plymouth.

In 1623 the Dutch province was born. Until then it had been forming in embryo; it was a mere vaguely defined stretch of the American wilderness, covered by a Dutch name, visited by Dutch ships, and dotted with three or four Dutch trading posts. In 1623 it became, nominally at least, a political entity. The States General — and this was their real answer to the inquiry put by the English privy council two years earlier — formally constituted it a province and granted it the armorial rights of a countship. Its seal was a combination of Old World and New World emblems, showing a beaver surrounded by a string of wampum beads and surmounted by a count's coronet, with the legend *Sigillum Novi Belgii.*

The States General had delegated to the West India Com-

pany, for any colonial settlements it might make, all legislative, executive, and judicial powers, stipulating only that they themselves should confirm the appointment of the highest officials and the instructions given them, that the Roman-Dutch law of the fatherland should prevail when special laws and ordinances issued by the Company did not meet all needs, and that persons convicted of capital crimes should be sent home with their sentences. The largest number of the directors belonged to the Chamber of Amsterdam which administered four-ninths of the capital of the Company; and among them were included most of the members of the old New Netherland Company. To this Chamber was intrusted the control of New Netherland while the South American colonies soon to be taken from the Portuguese were controlled principally by the Zealand Chamber. The people of New Netherland always claimed a right of appeal to the home government from the decisions of the provincial court established by the Company as well as a broader right to invoke its interest in the affairs of the province at large; and more and more as the years went on the States General directed, or tried to direct, both the general policy of the Company and its dealings with individual colonists. Nevertheless, until New Netherland became New York it was ruled by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company acting under the executive committee called the Assembly of the XIX which represented the Company as a whole and in which a delegate from the States General had a seat.

In another sense also the year 1623 was the birth year of the province. Then the West India Company completed its organization. The States General had ratified its charter in an amplified form, and it stood ready for active work with a subscribed capital of 7,000,000 guilders, equal to $2,800,000 or at least four or five times this sum as money is valued to-day. The years 1623 and 1624 it devoted chiefly to preparations for the conquest of Brazil, yet its Amsterdam Chamber found time to aid in sending a shipload of emigrants to New Nether-

land. These were the first genuine settlers, the first Europeans who came not simply to traffic but to live, who meant to establish not merely 'factories,' as trading stations then were called, but also farms and towns; the first, so far as we know, who brought women and children with them.

In curious parallel to the fact that the Pilgrims who founded New Plymouth had thought of settling in New Netherland, the first actual settlers in New Netherland had wished to seat themselves in an English colony. Most of them were not Dutchmen but Walloons and Frenchmen — a handful among the many thousands of foreign Protestants who had been driven into the free Republic by the massacre of St. Bartholomew or the rigors of the Spanish Inquisition.

In July, 1621, a certain Jesse De Forest signed and presented to the English ambassador at the Hague a petition, written in French, on behalf of nearly threescore families 'as well Walloons as French, all of the Reformed religion.' De Forest, whose name was also written Des Forests and De Foreest, was himself a Walloon, born at Avesnes, and therefore French in speech — a man of good burgher blood, a merchant-dyer by trade who since 1615 had been living at Leyden. His petition asked leave for his friends to establish a colony in Virginia with many special privileges. With it went a round-robin signed by fifty-six men and showing that their households numbered in all two hundred and twenty-seven persons. The request was referred to the Virginia Company which did not object to the emigrants but refused to help them or to grant them special privileges. Then, in August, 1622, after Jesse De Forest had secured from the provincial legislature of Holland and North Friesland a promise of transportation, the States General permitted him to 'inscribe and enroll' Protestant families to be sent to the 'West Indies.' This was a generic term for America at large, but New Netherland must have been definitely in De Forest's mind for the West India Company advised the provincial legislature to promise him help, and it was evidently for his band of recruits that its Amsterdam Chamber supplied

a ship, called the *New Netherland,* of two hundred and sixty tons, larger by eighty tons than the Pilgrims' *Mayflower.* Early in March, 1623, it sailed for the Great River carrying thirty families 'most of whom were Walloons.' Cornelis Mey was its skipper and the director of the emigrants, Adriaen Joris was second in command. No list of the emigrants has been preserved but it is known that two of them were Joris (George) Jansen Rapelje and his wife, Catelina Trico, a native of Paris.

Jesse De Forest did not come with them. In December, 1623, his brother Gerard, petitioning for a transfer to himself of Jesse's permit as a dyer, testified that Jesse had left Holland 'by the last ships that sailed from here for the West Indies.' It has usually been thought that he joined the great naval expedition sent out at this time to attack the Spaniards and Portuguese in the West Indies and South America and to plant colonies in Guiana where the Dutch had been established for some years. A journal written in French by Jesse himself and preserved in the British Museum has, however, recently been brought to notice by an English writer who, speaking merely of Dutch enterprises in South America, naturally makes no reference to De Forest's connection with the settlement of New Netherland. From this journal it appears that, De Forest having petitioned that a number of families which he had enrolled for emigration might be employed in the service of the West India Company, evidently in its southern possessions, the Company disapproved of the request but permitted De Forest and certain 'heads of families' to visit the country and choose a place for themselves. Under De Forest's leadership ten such persons, all with French names, sailed in the ship *Pigeon* on July 1, 1623, which was four months after the departure of the *New Netherland,* five before the sailing of the great military expedition. After visiting the settlements on the Amazon they decided to remain on the Wiapico River where, on January 1, 1624, the *Pigeon* left them. Here they suffered great hardship for seventeen months, and then gladly availed

themselves of a ship sent out by the Company to bring them home should they so desire. Nothing more is known about Jesse De Forest. Certainly he never came to New Netherland, but two of his sons did come in later years, and his descendants are numerous in New York and Connecticut.

The ship *New Netherland,* flying the flag of the province of Holland, touched at the Canary Islands and the 'Wild Coast' (Guiana), and early in May arrived in the harbor of Manhattan. Here it found a French ship whose captain intended to take possession of the country by erecting the arms of his king. Fortunately a Dutch yacht, the *Mackerel,* which had recently come from the West Indies, also lay in the harbor; so, joining their forces and arming a smaller vessel with two guns, the Hollanders 'convoyed the Frenchman out of the river.' Never since that day has a French vessel appeared in the upper bay of New York with hostile or covetous intent.

Another danger, it appears, had more remotely threatened the Dutch immigrants. The letter of an anonymous Englishman, dated May 4, 1623, and written on a ship called the *Bonnie Bess* while she was lying off the Isle of Wight, says that her company had been commissioned by 'high authorities' to explore Hudson's River,

> . . . and if we there find any strangers, as Hollanders or others, we are to give them fight and spoil or sink them down into the sea.

But the *Bonnie Bess* did not try to execute these orders. No one molested the *New Netherland's* human cargo; and at once it was distributed through the broad province. Two families and six men went up the Fresh River, landed where Hartford now stands, and began to build a small fort which was named the House of Hope or Fort Good Hope. Another little party, taken to the South River, founded Fort Nassau near the site of the present town of Gloucester in New Jersey, about four miles below Philadelphia. Eighteen families, the largest band of settlers, were carried up the North River to

Fort Orange; and before the yacht *Mackerel* returned to Holland they were 'bravely advanced' for the grain they had planted was 'nearly as high as a man.' This means that the city of Albany was founded a little earlier than the city of New York, for only eight of the *New Netherland's* passengers were dropped on Manhattan and apparently they were all men who lived for a time in the traders' makeshift shelters. Nor does documentary evidence support the tradition that some of the Walloons settled at this time on the Long Island shore and that thus the spot called by the Dutch *'T Waal-boght* and now called Wallabout (the site of the Brooklyn navy-yard) obtained its name, meaning Walloon's Cove. The first recorded settlement at this spot was not planted until 1636, and the name probably meant simply 'inner harbor' or 'bend in the harbor,' as it does in the city of Amsterdam where it marks a locality of a similar kind.

Most of what is known about the *New Netherland* and its passengers is told in the earliest printed story of the fortunes of the province, which forms part of an *Historical Account of the Memorable Events of the Years 1621 to 1632* written by Claes (Nicholas) Wassenaer, a Dutch physician. The method of dating employed in this work, which was published in annual sections each dealing with the events of the preceding twelvemonth, has led one or two writers to believe that the year 1624, not 1623, saw the first planting of New Netherland. But they have overlooked Wassenaer's express statement at the end of the section compiled in 1624 that the description of this planting would be 'related in the commencement' of the part next to follow as there was not room for it in the part in hand. Moreover, while it is certain that Jesse De Forest went to South America in the summer of 1623, it is unlikely that he departed before his recruits for New Netherland embarked. The evidence of one of these recruits, Catelina Trico, preserved in an affidavit made before Governor Dongan of New York in 1685, when she was a very old woman, has no value, for she could not then remember whether she had arrived in 1623 or 1624. In another deposi-

tion, made in 1688, she said that she came in 1623 but miscalled the ship that brought her. All official documents written by the Dutch, in the province or in the fatherland, which mention the voyage of the *New Netherland* refer it to 1623; and so does a *Memorial* laid before the West India Company in 1633 by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer who had been a member of the Amsterdam Chamber and during many years was more actively concerned than any other individual in the peopling of the province.

Thus it was mixed seed that first was sown in the American province which was to be conspicuous always for its cosmopolitan character.

The Walloons were a people of Celtic blood descended from the Belgæ of Cæsar's time, akin to a large part of the Dutch people but speaking an old French dialect and occupying the provinces of Artois and Hainault which now form the northwestern part of Belgium and the northern corner of France. These two provinces, in which Avennes and Valenciennes were the principal towns, had joined with the Dutch and Flemish Netherlands in their revolt against Spain; but as they were difficult of defence and their population was predominantly Catholic, they had been the first to return to their allegiance. Then their Protestant inhabitants moved in large numbers into the Dutch provinces. They supplied several brigades to the armies of the Republic and some of them, it seems, took part in the earliest American ventures of its sons, for Champlain, writing home in 1615 about certain 'Flemings' who were trafficking near the fortieth degree of latitude, said that three who had been captured by Canadian Indians were returned to their friends as their speech proved them to be Frenchmen.

Walloons, however, formed only one element in the heterogeneous population from which New Netherland was to draw its settlers. In the corner of Europe where the Dutch, Flemish, French, and German provinces approached each other, native strains of blood were mixed and political affini-

ties had often changed; and this natural complexity was increased by the waves of Protestant immigration which, directing themselves chiefly toward the Dutch provinces but eddying over a much wider area, flowed in from England and Scotland, from the northern and western parts of France, and, after the Thirty Years' War began in 1618, from Bohemia, the Palatinate, and the central parts of Germany. From the people of these border lands, from the many kinds of foreigners who had found asylum in the Republic itself, and from their half-Hollandized children as well as from the pure Dutch and Flemish stocks, the colonists of New Netherland were year by year recruited while the Scandinavian countries also sent it their quota. Its settlement did not bear witness, like the settlement of New England, to the discontent of men of a single land with their home conditions but to a much wider agitation, to the general unrest produced by the great European struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism.

Many of the founders of New Netherland were bilingual; family names were hardly used as yet by the middle and lower classes from which all but a scanty few of them came; such as did exist were written as any writer chose; and families of different origin were constantly intermarrying. Therefore, even when the immediate parentage and the place of birth of one of these founders is known it is often impossible to pronounce upon his nationality. It is lawful, however, to speak of them collectively as Hollanders, for as Hollanders they came to America, and in America they still considered themselves sons of the Dutch Republic.

By the end of the year 1623 these Hollanders, in planting their trading posts and little settlements, had dropped the first seeds of civilization on the soil of what afterwards became five of the Thirteen Colonies — New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Delaware — and in the first two had laid the foundations of enduring communities. The English plantation in Virginia was then thirteen years old and the one at Plymouth was three years old while tentative

settlements existed in New Hampshire and Maine. All the rest of the group of colonies which were thus beginning to take root on American soil were of later birth, and the youngest of them, Georgia, was not born until the one that the Dutch had founded was a hundred and ten years of age.

The Hollanders had chosen the finest seat for commerce on all this long and diversified coast. They had 'intruded,' said a paper called the *Case of the Corporation for New England* and written some thirty years later, upon the rights of King James in 'the very best part of all that large northern empire.'

Their voyage from Holland usually took six or eight weeks but often a much longer time. They made it by way of the Canary Islands and the Caribbees, sometimes touching at Guiana, passing northward between the Bahamas and Bermuda toward Virginia, and then up along the coast — a circuitous route but one that avoided the fierce gales of the North Atlantic and supplied ports for stopping to provision or to refit.

As they approached Manhattan the lower bay offered them immediate shelter behind its projecting sandy arm or *hoek*. Thence, through a channel deep enough for the largest ships, they entered the great land-locked upper bay, one of the world's few perfect harbors. At the head of this bay lay a long narrow island, washed on one side by Hudson's Great River, on the other by the broad tidal strait, twenty miles in length, called Hellegat or the East River, and at the north separated but not set far apart from the mainland by a lesser strait, or branch of the larger one, seven miles long. This Harlem River, as the Dutchmen named it, in aspect like a slender winding stream, joined Spuyten Duyvil Creek, a little tributary of the Great River, and thus completed the insulation of Manhattan.

So was Manhattan placed and shaped — like a great natural pier ready to receive the commerce of the world. And the river that laved its western bank, navigable to the northward

for more than a hundred and fifty miles, was second in importance, on all the North Atlantic coast, to none excepting the Frenchmen's River of St. Lawrence.

Securing the St. Lawrence the French had acquired the one great natural transcontinental highway, the only navigable river which gave access to the Great Lakes whence the headwaters of the affluents of the Mississippi, opening a water-route to the Gulf of Mexico, could easily be reached. Holding this highway the French not only controlled the fur-producing regions of the interior but were able eventually to set, from Acadia to the Gulf, a long line of outposts which threatened the English colonies with extinction or, at best, with perpetual confinement to a narrow strip of seacoast. There were drawbacks, however, to the immense utility of the St. Lawrence. The approaches to it were long and very dangerous, they were closed by ice during five months of the year, so was the river itself, and the lands that bordered upon it were difficult of cultivation.

On the other hand, the harbor of Manhattan was advantageously placed midway between Newfoundland and Florida, and was very easy of approach. Although the Great River itself was ice-bound in winter, the lower bay was always open, the passage into the upper bay was always free, and for only a few days two or three times in a century were this bay and the channels around Manhattan frozen. Connected with the upper and lower bays by the straits around Staten Island was another bay of large size into which considerable streams debouched; and the Atlantic coast-line as well as the shores of Long Island Sound and the banks of the Great River were broken by many small harbors and by the mouths of many tributary streams and creeks — water byways highly advantageous to settlers in a wilderness. The soil was rich, its wealth in timber incalculable; and the climate, while colder in winter and hotter in summer than that of northern Europe, had neither the arctic rigor which tried the Canadian nor the enervating languor which tempted the southern colonist to rely upon slave labor, and was

distinctly more temperate than the climate of New England.

Furthermore the Great River, cutting through the diagonal line of the great Appalachian mountain system, gave easier access to the interior of the continent than could elsewhere be found south of the St. Lawrence. When the Dutchmen set their first posts far up the river they commanded the end of the great Iroquois trail, a path about fifteen inches wide, beaten hard by Indian feet, running through the forests, and everywhere avoiding wet as well as open places, which led up the Mohawk Valley and beyond it to a point just above Niagara Falls. This trail passed through the only place on the continent whence waters flow toward the St. Lawrence, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico, a watershed where affluents of Lake Ontario and of the Susquehanna, the Delaware, the Potomac, the Ohio, and the Hudson have their springs. As some of these nascent streams, connected by short portages, were navigable for canoes, bands of savages from regions as distant as the further shores of Superior easily brought their packs of pelts to the shores of the Great River. Therefore the fur trade flourished in New York long after it had died out in New England.

The chief of the interior water-routes, the Oneida Portage-path, ran from the upper waters of the Mohawk by a portage only a mile in length, called the Great Carrying Place, to Wood's Creek which flows into Oneida Lake, and from this lake down the Oswego River to Lake Ontario. When the struggle between France and England grew acute in the New World this route, which flat-bottomed boats could take, was of the utmost importance; and the famous fort called Stanwix, now enclosed in the city of Rome, was built to defend the Great Carrying Place.

The early Dutchmen were not much concerned with the fact that the same great break in the Appalachian barrier that gave access to the northwest afforded the chief natural passage from Canada toward the south, by way of the Richelieu River, Lake Champlain, Lake George, another Wood's Creek,

and Hudson's River. But to their descendants and the English rulers of the province it was a fact of capital significance. After a while this route, the Grand Pass from New York to Montreal, became another main channel for the traffic in furs; and its existence made the frontier city of Albany, whence a navigable river ran down to the finest harbor on the coast, the strategical key to the English position in America, the pivotal point in all the wide region between the territories of France and of Spain. Because this point was in the province of New York, and because the harbor of Manhattan held a midway station on the English colonial seaboard, New York came to be called the pivot province of the king of England's domain.

While the geographical character of the province was thus highly advantageous in one way, a source of danger in another, in still another it proved unfortunate when, in English days, New York had been shorn of a great part of the territory that the Dutch had claimed. The high rocky hills that flanked the valley of the Hudson so limited the arable lands of the province that, largely for this reason although partly because of its less liberal government, it was quickly surpassed in population by Pennsylvania, and, in spite of its unrivalled harbor, its capital city could not keep pace with Philadelphia.

The beauty of the harbor of Manhattan and the fertility of its shores excited the admiration of every explorer. Verrazano, if we accept the most generally accepted reading of his description of the coast, called it a 'most beautiful lake,' and said that he left with great regret a region which seemed so 'commodious and delightful.' Nearly a century later Juet wrote that it was 'as pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees' as any he had ever seen and that 'very sweet smells' came from it. De Laet quotes Hudson as saying that it was the finest land for cultivation he had ever trodden, and Van Meteren probably quotes him when he declares that the river was as fine a one as could be found 'with a good anchorage ground on both sides.'

Although primeval forests for the most part clothed the land there were natural open spaces, especially near the water, and the aborigines had trodden out a network of paths, cut many trees to build their lodges, stockades, and canoes, cleared many acres to plant their beans and maize, their pumpkins, their tobacco, and their apple orchards, and burned the vegetation from wider areas. Magnificent trees of many kinds formed the dense forests and dotted the meadow-like openings, some of the most useful new to European eyes — the tough hickories, for example, and the tulip tree which because of its lightness the Dutch called the 'canoe wood.' Nuts, wild grapes, and edible berries grew in a profusion and variety that amazed the newcomer almost as much as did the multitude of fish that swarmed in the bay and the flocks of wild fowl that clouded the air or islanded the water.

The divers names that the Hudson has borne testify to the varied nationality of those who explored it or lived beside it. Among its Indian titles were Cohohatatea, Shatemuck, and Mohican. It was the *San Antonio* of the old Portuguese cartographers, probably thus named by Gomez. It may also have been their *Ribera de Montañas* (River of the Mountains) for De Laet wrote in 1625 that while the Dutch generally called it the Great River others also called it *Rio de Montaigne,* and certain maps give its name in this curious bastard form. But it was not, as has been thought, the *Rio Grande* or the *Rio de Gamas* (Deer River) of the Portuguese, these being the Penobscot. The English knew it as Hudson's River and River Manahata. And as the Dutchmen's name for their northern fort was *Oranje* (the *j* as always in Dutch words pronounced like *i*) or in Latin *Aurania,* for two centuries the Canadian French spoke of the river as *Rivière d'Orange* or *d'Auranie.* On Champlain's map of 1632 it appears, more perplexingly, as *Rivière des trettes.*

Although Hudson and Juet spoke simply of the Great River the Hollanders soon named it for their stadholder Maurice of Nassau: *Riviere van den Vorst Mauritius* is its

title on the parchment Figurative Map.[1] They also called it the Nassau and, more commonly, the North River or the Great North River, partly because it flowed from the north, partly by way of contrast to the Delaware which they called the South River. North River and River Mauritius remained its customary appellations until English times. Then the prince's name gave way to the explorer's; but even to-day the Hudson is usually called the North River by the people who live near its mouth, and is indicated thus on city maps and in the naming of piers, ferries, and steamboat lines. Of course the stranger is puzzled, for he sees that the North River washes the western side of Manhattan, and he knows nothing of the old Dutch name of the Delaware.

It was the Dutchmen who gave the East River its present name although they usually called it Hellegat. Afterwards Hell Gate was applied only to its dangerously obstructed part. The English often called it the Sound, sometimes the South River as opposed to the North River. Long Island also remains as the Hollanders christened it, in spite of the fact that the English officially declared it to be Nassau Island. On Champlain's map of 1632 it appears as *Isle de l'Ascension.* The most commonly used of its Indian names was Matowack or Metoacs — very variously spelled by the whites who also long employed it. Staten Island, called by the natives Eghquous, Monacknong, and Aquetonga, the Dutch named for the parliament of their fatherland — *Staaten Eylandt,* the Island of the States — a title which they had already given to the far-away island that lies east of Terra del Fuego, bestowing it when, first of all Europeans to round the end of the continent, they christened Cape Horn. Our northern Staten Island was also called Godyn's Island in honor of a director of the West India Company while Sandy Hook was

[1] Brodhead narrates that the fly-boat *Half Moon* in which Hudson discovered for the Dutch the River of Mauritius was afterwards employed in the East India trade, and in 1615 was wrecked on the shore of the Island of Mauritius, then owned by the Dutch.

sometimes Godyn's Point. Governor's Island, the largest in the harbor, the Indians called Pagganck or Pecanuc, the Dutch *Nooten Eylandt* because of the nut trees it bore. The Narrows were *Hamel's Hooftden* (Hamel's Cliffs), named for another director of the Company. Coney Island was sometimes called *Coneyn's Eylandt* which implies that Coneyn was a surname, and sometimes *'T Coneyn Eylandt* which means Rabbit Island.

The name Manhattan, spelled in almost half a hundred ways in Dutch, French, and English writings of colonial times, has been very variously interpreted. 'People of the Whirlpool' and 'Place of Intoxication' are fanciful and foolish readings based upon perversions of linguistic analogies and disproved by the testimony of the earliest maps and descriptions. The soundest belief seems to be that Manhattan was derived from a mutable Algonquin term, meaning 'island,' which was by no means limited in its application to the one island that perpetuates it. Possibly, in the form that survives it meant 'Island of the Hills.' By the white men the name was sometimes applied in early days to the aborigines of the neighborhood, but Juet, the very first who set it down in writing, gives it a geographical meaning, saying 'on that side of the river that is called Manna-hata.' Which side he meant, whether the island itself or the opposite western bank, the context does not make clear. On the earliest English map, the one called the Velasco or Simancas Map, the river bears no name, but 'Manahata' is written along its western and 'Manahatin' along its eastern shore. The paper Figurative Map, which does not show the island, puts 'Manhattes' on the mainland to the northeast of the harbor while the parchment map sets 'Manhates' on the island itself. De Laet wrote that the river was called by some 'the Manhattes River from the people who dwell near its mouth'; and Wassenaer called the island 'the Manhates' and 'the Manhattes,' and explained that it was occupied by 'a nation called the Manhates.'

The Dutch commonly used the name in a plural form and

gradually extended its significance. Augustine Herrman, whom Governor Stuyvesant sent on an embassy to Maryland in 1659, then explained:

> They commit a grave mistake who will confine the general name of Manhattans . . . to the particular city, which is only built on a little island; . . . it signifies the whole country and province, or at least the same particular place in the province: as, for example, it is frequent with many still at this day, to say — To go to the Manhattans, or, To come from the Manhattans — when they mean the whole province, as they do by the name of Virginia or Maryland, for the particular town itself is never named the Manhattans, but New Amsterdam.

This broader significance died out when the English secured the province. In documents of the English colonial period Island of Manhattan and Manhattan Island serve as interchangeable terms with the meaning they bear to-day. But until very recent times Manhattan Island was in local parlance specifically applied to a knoll on the East River shore above the present foot of Rivington Street, containing about an acre of land and surrounded by creeks and salt marshes. Dockyards here established have left their name to the 'Dry Dock District.' A neighboring Presbyterian church was called the Church in the Swamp or the Manhattan Island Church.

There was one radical difference in the development of European colonies in the northern and in the southern parts of America. In all the Spanish and Portuguese settlements and also in the French West Indies there was a very general mingling of white and Indian blood. But the blood of the French in Canada was by no means so generally modified while that of the Dutch and the English was virtually unaffected by an aboriginal strain. The Dutch records assert that, especially in the early days of traffic and incipient colonization, many traders lived with Indian women, yet they mention few half-breeds, and no visible tinge of dark blood survived in the veins of the New Netherlanders. The

memory of the red man, however, still broods over the land, preserved by his musical place-names, by the trend of the highroads which in many directions follow his forest paths, and by the products and inventions that he bequeathed to his supplanters — by his tobacco and pumpkins and maize, his maple sugar, his clam-bakes, his snow-shoes, toboggans, and bark canoes.

Farther south the most valuable of these gifts was tobacco; in New Netherland and New England it was maize. Only after long labor and a thorough clearing of the soil could the settler raise European grain. But as soon as he removed the underbrush and cut down the trees, or even girdled them to destroy the foliage and let in the sun, among the ragged trunks and the roots and boulders he could plant the quickly ripening maize. Moreover, as maize could easily be cultivated by hand labor and did not need to be threshed or winnowed, with fewer tools and far less toil the settler could get from an acre so planted twice as much food as any other crop would yield besides the fodder indispensable for his cattle; and by planting maize he was using the best method to loosen and prepare the soil for oats, rye, and wheat.

As maize was seldom exported it plays a small part in commercial records. But even in New Netherland, where quantities of grain were very soon grown, the early settlers greatly depended upon it; and its importance to New England could not be more clearly emphasized than it is by the fact that 'corn,' the Englishmen's generic term for edible grains, means to the modern American only the maize which, taking the country as a whole, is still his principal crop. Maize, 'Indian wheat,' or 'Indian corn' the colonials called it.

The many Indian tribes that occupied Manhattan, Long Island, and the shores of the bay and of River Mauritius were all Algonquins. This great race also embraced the New England and most of the Canadian tribes as well as the Delawares with whom the English of the southern colonies

came in contact, and spread itself westward to the Mississippi and probably far beyond. But in the very heart of its vast territories another race had established itself, different in origin, character, and speech. The whole of what is now the State of New York except Long Island and the Hudson River Valley was occupied by a powerful confederacy of five tribes of the Iroquois race, banded together shortly before the coming of the white man through the efforts, as tradition relates with possible truth, of the Onondaga chieftain Hiawatha. They were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. In this order their districts or 'cantons' stretched from the shores of Lake Champlain and the neighborhood of Schenectady to the Genesee River. They lived in communal houses, very long and narrow, grouped within strong stockades. For this reason or because of the shape of the territory they occupied some of their own names for themselves meant 'Cabin Makers' or 'People of the Long House.'

As the early French missionaries at once perceived, they were the most ferocious, ambitious, and intelligent of the aborigines; and their station gave them full chance to profit by their energies. Commanding important routes from east to west and from north to south, and holding their congresses at a lake village in the valley of Onondaga, the strategically important place not far from the modern town of Syracuse whence forest paths and nascent rivers led in many divergent directions, they sent their war parties so widely and so successfully afield that they ruled or intimidated the other tribes from Maine to the Mississippi and southward to the Savannah and the Tennessee. Yet even in the days of their greatest strength and power, during the first half of the seventeenth century when they had procured firearms from the white men, they numbered not more than four thousand warriors, twenty thousand souls in all. Twice as many of their descendants, it has been computed, now survive in and near the State of New York.

For a time the Dutch and English called all these Iroquois

by the name of the most easterly tribe — Mohawks or Maquas. Later they were known as the Five Nations, and as the Six Nations after the early years of the eighteenth century when the Tuscaroras, a kindred people driven from the Carolina border, were received into the confederacy.

Other branches of the Iroquois race lived in not far-distant regions: the Hurons or Wyandots in the triangle formed by the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of the Great Lakes, the Eries south of the lake that bears their name, the Andastes or Susquehannocks on the lower Susquehanna. These were all hostile to their powerful relatives in the Mohawk Valley. Between the Five Nations and the Hurons the feud was peculiarly bitter; and the fact that the Hurons allied themselves with the northern Algonquins and the Canadian French was one reason why the Iroquois proper were ready to make friends with the Dutch and their English heirs. On the day in 1609 when Champlain led a handful of Hurons and Algonquin Ottawas against the Mohawks at Ticonderoga, the international conflict really began which did not end until, after the lapse of a century and a half, the flag of France was driven from Canada. During all this time the Iroquois, by virtue partly of their geographical position, partly of their native superiority to the other aborigines, held the balance of power between the rival white nations. Here was another cause of the importance of Albany, another reason why New York became the pivot province of the English colonial domain. As in Albany centred the profitable traffic in furs, as to Albany the Canadians cast their eyes when they dreamed of conquering the English plantations, so to Albany the governors of the New England colonies and of Maryland and Virginia sent their agents or even came in person when Indian wars distressed their borders. Whether or not the Iroquois themselves had lifted the hatchet, peace could rarely be hoped for without their concurrence.

The Algonquins near Manhattan greeted the first white men with a wondering friendliness. Verrazano relates that

they came close to the seashore, 'seeming to rejoice very much at the sight of us and . . . showed us a place where we might most commodiously come a-land with our boat.' Hudson wrote that those along the river — the River Indians as the Dutchmen afterwards called them — were a 'very good people,' some near the Catskills a 'loving people.' Juet explained that while they were often very friendly and made a 'show of love' the white men dared not trust them. In fact, any trifling cause or vague suspicion changed the red man's mood of amicable curiosity to one of abject terror or murderous audacity. While the *Half Moon* was lying inside Sandy Hook and its boats were exploring the neighboring shores, suddenly for no discernible reason one of them was attacked by Indians in canoes, and a sailor named John Colman was killed by an arrow in his throat. His comrades buried him — the first recorded white man who found a grave near Manhattan — on Sandy Hook 'and named the point after his name, Colman's Point.' While Hudson was sailing up and then down the river, one day he would entertain on his ship the savages who brought beaver and otter skins, tobacco, venison, ears of Indian corn, beans, 'very good oysters,' and 'grapes and pompions' to exchange for knives, hatchets and 'trifles,' or his men would go among them on the shore where they found 'good cheer.' Another day he would think best to let no sailor land, no red man come aboard the ship. Once the cook of the *Half Moon* killed a savage whom he caught thieving; and on the downstream voyage, when many canoes attacked the ship opposite the northern end of Manhattan, the white men shot several Indians. For the most part, however, relations were friendly, and before the *Half Moon* sailed away a number of red men had taken three steps toward civilization. They had seen the effect of firearms, they had got drunk, and they had learned to want European goods. Not content with their 'mantles of feathers' and 'good furs,' their belts and ornaments of wampum beads, their bracelets, plaques, and 'great tobacco pipes' of 'yellow copper,' their curls and braids of

deer's hair dyed red, and their polychrome coats of paint, they coveted the Dutchman's blankets, his coats, his hats, and even his lace-trimmed shirts. More than any of these they wanted his guns and powder and rum; and at first the Dutchmen were very ready to give them rum at least, for it showed 'whether they had any treachery in them.'

Although simple barter was of course the first method of exchange the Dutch quickly learned to use the Indians' money, wampum, which consisted of beads of two colors, called white and black but more precisely straw-color and a fine purple. The white were made from periwinkle shells, the black, which were twice as valuable, from the dark spot at the base of the shells of the clam. Both kinds were about as thick as a straw and less than half an inch in length. Smaller beads, although not used as money, were employed in ornamental work. This, however, bore no likeness to the beadwork that the modern Indian produces with little, round, varicolored beads of the white man's manufacture.

Labor gave wampum its worth in the eyes of the savage. With primitive stone awls the beads were shaped symmetrically, drilled, and polished. For use as currency they were strung on deer sinews or strands of fibre and then measured by the span or cubit. But 'belts' or scarves a few inches in width and sometimes ten feet in length were formed of these strands applied to strips of deerskin, often in hieroglyphic patterns that had a mnemonic meaning. Thus gaining a symbolic or historic in addition to their pecuniary and decorative value, wampum belts were worn as ornaments by both sexes and as regalia by the sachems, were treasured as reserves of wealth, and were used for the gifts needed to ratify all formal dealings among the savages themselves or between them and the white men. Wampum, in short, was a useful commodity as well as a currency. In one form or another it was the Indian's substitute for the European's money, plate, jewellery, works of art, written records, and insignia of rank and power. The tribes of the eastern coast of New England, who did not manufacture it, were poor and

feeble compared with those that did. It was produced chiefly around Narragansett Bay and at Oyster Bay and more easterly places on Long Island. From these sources it passed in great quantities up River Mauritius, for the Mohawks learned to exact it as tribute from the Algonquin tribes. While the English called it wampum, an Indian name for the white beads, the Dutch, adopting a more generic term, said zeewant or sewan. The most common Indian name for Long Island, Matowack, meant Land of the Periwinkle; another, Seawanhacky, meant Land of Wampum, and a third, Paumanack, Land of Tribute.

The utility of the beads to the white man was based, of course, upon their value to the Indian who would seldom barter his corn and furs even for the European goods he most desired unless a payment in wampum was added. But in the dearth of small coin that afflicted all New World settlements wampum, throughout the northern colonies, soon passed current between white man and white, a certain number of beads being reckoned as a stiver or penny. Then value was usually computed not by measuring the strands but by counting the beads. Erelong this money was recognized as legal tender in New Netherland and New England, and in 1634 it was indorsed as such by the West India Company for use in its province. In Massachusetts it was not accepted for taxes after 1649, in Rhode Island it ceased to be legal tender in 1662, but in New York it did not wholly lose this character until after the beginning of the eighteenth century and was used in dealings with the remoter Indians for a much longer time. Even in our own day it has been manufactured on Staten Island for export to the West. Beaver skins, the main articles of internal traffic and of export during Dutch times, formed a standard of value according to which from time to time the government of New Netherland tried to regulate the worth of the beads; and so it is easy to see how the price of furs at Archangel might influence the fluctuations of clam-shell money on Manhattan. Of course the beads themselves were never sent to Europe.

In general the Dutchmen tried to treat the Indians well. By nature they were more gentle than the Puritan Englishman; they did not share his hatred and contempt for aliens and heathen; and they were more strongly inclined by their special needs to a friendly policy. They depended more than the New Englander upon the trade in furs; and even while these were abundant in places close at hand they could be much more easily obtained by bargaining with native hunters and trappers than by personal quest in tangled forests and rapid streams. Therefore the Dutchmen conciliated the savages as middlemen between themselves and the beaver, and also as the only persons from whom, until they had wide cultivated fields of their own, they could supply themselves with food. In after years a Long Island sachem declared that the gifts of his people saved Adriaen Block and his men from starvation while they were building the *Restless*. Probably many an early trader baffled death by the aid of similar ministrations. On the other hand, many must have met with a fate like John Colman's. One such unfortunate was Hendrick Christiaensen. Soon after he built the first Dutch trading post he was murdered by one of the Indians whom he had taken to Holland and afterwards brought back to their tribe.

In theory at least the Hollander considered the Indian a man like himself with analogous rights to his life, liberty, and possessions. The West India Company repeatedly prescribed that all lands taken by its settlers should be paid for to their owners' satisfaction and that the bargain should be formally ratified and recorded; Indians were not enslaved in New Netherland; and negotiation, not war, was the customary method of securing peace with the red man.

Peace was not always kept in New Netherland and, even in times of peace, by no means every Dutchman was kindly and righteous in his dealings with the savage. The settler's greed for furs, and afterwards for land, could best be gratified by quenching the red man's insatiable thirst for rum; and from this kind of traffic and the equally pernicious traffic in

firearms and powder sprang most of the trouble that the white men experienced. Once, indeed, as will be told, their passion and cruelty provoked an Indian uprising which almost annihilated the settlement on Manhattan. But the memory of this tragic incident has too darkly colored most modern accounts of the Dutchmen's treatment of the aborigines. The governor, not the people, of New Netherland was chiefly responsible for it, and it was not a characteristic but an exceptional episode.

In spite of all official lapses and individual transgressions, savage rights, customs, and susceptibilities were respected in the Dutch province more generally than in New England, not to speak of Virginia where the Indians were never well treated and were constantly troublesome. The initial danger was greater in the Dutch province than on the New England coast which had so recently been swept by epidemic diseases that the settlers had time to grow numerous before, as they pressed westward into the Connecticut Valley, their Indian difficulties began. New Netherland was not only much more populous with red men but was also a borderland where the fierce, ambitious Iroquois were in conflict with their hereditary Algonquin foes, where the Mohawks especially were often in arms for years against the Algonquin Mohegans (Mohicans, Maykans, Mahicanders) who occupied both banks of River Mauritius in the neighborhood of Fort Orange. Yet neither as New Netherland nor as New York did the Dutchmen's province see all its Indians arrayed against it; it never thought it needful to sanction for the sake of its own safety such a measure as the officially permitted murder of Miantonomi; and from first to last, until the Revolutionary War broke out, it kept the powerful, irascible Iroquois as its friends and allies.

They often wavered in their fealty to the rulers of New York but they never renounced it in answer to the constant threats and solicitations of the French; and it dated from the early days of the Dutch. The tradition that in the year 1616 by the mouth of Norman's Kill certain Dutch fur-traders

smoked the pipe of peace with the sachems of the Mohawks and of some of the semi-subject Algonquin tribes is possibly a fable. Yet in spirit if not in fact it is true, for at the very first, formally or informally, the Dutch inaugurated that amicable method of dealing with the aborigines — showing a regard for their rights, a desire for their friendship, and a willingness to trust their promises — which in after years served to prevent the French from sweeping down by way of Lake Champlain and Hudson's River to the coast, and thus saved for the English their pivot province and in the end made possible their conquest of Canada.

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For ENGLISH SEPARATISTS, WEST INDIA COMPANY, VERRAZANO, HUDSON, JUET, and MAPS, see Reference Notes, Chap. I.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF NEW AMSTERDAM

1624–1631

(Governor Minuit)

After these countries had passed into the hands of the Incorporated West India Company . . . said Company purchased from the Indians, who were the indubitable owners thereof, the island of the Manhathes, situate at the entrance of the river, and there laid the foundations of a city. — *The West India Company to the States General of the United Netherlands. 1634.*

In 1624 a Dutch writer named Baudartius quoted in a history of the remarkable events of recent years a letter from New Netherland, the earliest of which any words are now remembered:

Here is especially free coming and going without fear of the naked natives of the country. . . . Had we cows, hogs, and other cattle for food (which we daily expect by the first ships) we would not wish to return to Holland, for whatever we desire in the paradise of Holland is here to be found. If you will come hither with your family you will not regret it.

These first settlers, farmers and artisans brought to the New World from a land that under long cultivation had acquired a semi-artificial, garden-like character, had to learn how to make use of the wealth of wild lands and woods for food. And they had to learn how to grow food where the freaks of an unfamiliar and uncertain climate must often have thwarted them and where the soil was encumbered by virgin forests in which, as they once naïvely wrote, the trees

grew 'without order as in any other wilderness.' Yet the first letters they sent home were so cheerful and hopeful that, says Baudartius, many persons among those of foreign origin who had been forced to take refuge in Holland now resolved to emigrate

> . . . in the hope of earning a handsome livelihood, strongly fancying that they will live there in luxury and ease whilst here, on the contrary, they must earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

The yacht *Mackerel,* soon sent out again by the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company with a cargo of 'necessaries' for its settlers, fell a prey to privateers. Then one of the directors, Pieter Evertsen Hulft, fitted out three ships at his own expense, and the Company supplied an armed yacht as their convoy. Two of them carried farming implements and seed with swine, sheep, and more than a hundred head of horses and cattle, some for breeding purposes. In the third ship, says Wassenaer's account of this year 1625, there went to Manhattan

> . . . six complete families with some freemen, so that forty-five newcomers or inhabitants are taken out to remain there.

With the coming of this party 'to remain there' foundations for the city of New York were laid. It was then nearly five years since the Pilgrims had landed at Plymouth, one year since they had received their first consignment of cattle from England.

The first white woman born in New Netherland — Sarah Rapelye, as the family name is now most often written — was born on June 9, 1625. She was the daughter of the Joris Jansen Rapelje, supposedly a Walloon, and his wife, Catelina Trico the Parisian, who had come with the first band of immigrants on the ship *New Netherland.* Her birth is the first entered on a family register unquestionably authentic although not written by either of her parents. Like Sarah herself they never learned to write, signing their names with marks. The

register does not mention the place of Sarah's birth, but the depositions made by the mother in later years say that for three years after her arrival she lived at Fort Orange, and there undoubtedly her eldest child was born. Soon afterwards the family moved to Staten Island, then to New Amsterdam where Rapelye kept an inn, and later to Wallabout on Long Island. Sarah was twice married — first to a ship-carpenter, Hans Hansen Bergen, whose surname denotes his place of birth in Norway, and secondly to Teunis Gysbert Bogert. Her father's and also her husbands' surnames are still well known in New York and Brooklyn. A silver tankard that she owned is preserved by her descendants. In 1656, in a petition asking for a grant of land, she described herself as the 'first-born Christian daughter in New Netherland.' She did not say the first-born white child. The eldest white son of the province, the first white child born on Manhattan, was probably her senior.

His name was Jean Vigne or, in the spelling of the Dutch, Jan Vinje, Vinge, or occasionally Vienje, Finje, or Van Gee. His parents, Guleyn (William) Vigne and Adrienne Cuville, were Walloons from Valenciennes. The year of his birth is not known. Two Dutch travellers, remembered as the Labadist Fathers, who visited Manhattan in 1679 wrote that they had seen this oldest white native, and that he was about sixty-five years of age. It is hardly needful, however, to assume on such casual testimony from travellers who proved themselves at many points inaccurate observers that Jan Vinje was born in 1614 — that there was even one white woman on Manhattan as early as the year when Adriaen Block was building the *Restless*. Moreover, had their guess been accurate Jan Vinje would have been eighteen years of age in 1632 when his mother married a second time, whereas a prenuptial contract shows that he was still a child for whose schooling she and the stepfather promised to care. Yet it is probable that his birth antedated that of the town where, as long as the Dutch were in control, he took an active although not very prominent part in public affairs. He died in 1689 leaving no descendants.

These were not the first infants of pure white blood born within the limits of the Thirteen Colonies. Virginia Dare was born about 1587 in Raleigh's unlucky settlement on Roanoke Sound, Peregrine White in 1620 on the *Mayflower* while it lay off the point of Cape Cod, and the first-born Christian daughter of New England, the child of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens, at Plymouth in 1624.

Willem Verhulst succeeded Cornelis Mey as the director of the nascent colony which grew a little during the year that he served. On December 19, 1625, his successor, Peter Minuit, embarked at Amsterdam in the ship *Het Meewtje* (*The Little Sea-Mew*) but was detained for nearly a month by ice in the Texel and did not reach Manhattan until May 4, 1626.

Minuit was the first director who bore a formal title — Director-General of New Netherland. Other duly appointed officials came with him, and in accordance with instructions which we know only by their results he established a government for his province. Thus he heads the long list of the governors of New Netherland and New York, although throughout Dutch times not governor but director-general was the title attached to the office.

Minuit was of French Huguenot descent but his birthplace was Wesel, a city — then in the Duchy of Cleves, now in the Rhine Province of Germany — which was a great gathering place for Protestant refugees. He probably left Wesel in 1624 when it was taken by the Spaniards. His name is now written as he himself wrote it. By virtue of the happy orthographic freedom that then prevailed his contemporaries sometimes made it Menuet, Minuict, Minuyt, or Menewe, which is evidently a Dutch transliteration of its French sound, and sometimes Germanized it into Minnewit or Minnewitz.

In the government established for New Netherland, as in those of early New England, there was no separation of legislative, judicial, and executive powers. All were delegated

by the Amsterdam Chamber to the director-general, a council of five members, a *koopman*, and a *schout-fiscal*. The councillors served in a double capacity, as advisers of the governor in his executive tasks and as a court of justice over which he presided. The *koopman* was the Company's 'bookkeeper of wages' as well as secretary for the province. The *schout-fiscal*, the chief law officer of the province, was charged with such important and varied duties that he ranked next to the governor. He was both sheriff and public prosecutor; under the orders of the council he arrested, guarded, and arraigned all accused persons and superintended their trials, bringing out (of course in accordance with practice in the fatherland) the evidence for as well as against them. He transmitted accounts of all court proceedings to the West India Company, and was responsible for the publication and execution of all laws and orders issued by the local or the home authorities, and thus for the enforcement of the customs regulations and the examination of ships' cargoes. Both he and the *koopman* reported not through the governor but directly to the Company — an arrangement which, encouraging meddlesomeness in them, suspicion in the governor, did not work for official harmony.

With the councillors when they sat as the court were associated such captains of the Company's ships as might be in the port, on certain occasions some of the principal inhabitants or servants of the Company, and, in an advisory capacity, the *schout-fiscal* when he was not acting as prosecutor. Appeals from the decisions of the court lay to the executive committee of the Company, the Assembly of the XIX.

Jan Lampo was the first *schout-fiscal* of New Netherland, Isaac De Rasières its first *koopman* and secretary. The names of Minuit's councillors, as appended to the earliest document now extant, dating from July, 1630, were Bylvelt, Wissinck, Brouwer, Pos, and Harmensen.

At some time during the summer of 1626 Minuit bought from the Indians the island of Manhattan. This is told in a

letter written from Amsterdam to the States General at the Hague by the delegate who represented them in the Assembly of the XIX. It is the oldest known manuscript that relates to the local history of Manhattan, and the oldest manifest of a trading vessel cleared from the port. It runs:

High and Mighty Lords,

Here arrived yesterday the ship Arms of Amsterdam which on the 23d September sailed from New Netherland out of the Mauritius River. They report that our people there are of good cheer and live peaceably. Their wives have also borne children there. They have bought the island Manhattes from the savages for the value of sixty guilders. It is 11,000 *morgens* in extent. They had all their grain sown by the middle of May and harvested by the middle of August. They send small samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans, and flax.

The cargo of the aforesaid ship is:

7246 beaver skins,	36 wildcat skins,
178 half otter skins,	33 minks,
675 otter skins,	34 rat skins,
48 mink skins,	Much oak timber and nut-wood.

Herewith

High and Mighty Lords, be commended to the grace of Almighty God.

At Amsterdam, the 5th of November, A° 1626.

Your High Mightnesses' Obedient

P. Schaghen.

It has sometimes been said that Minuit cheated the savages, buying as they thought only a plot for a garden and then claiming the whole of the island. Schaghen's letter disproves this, and so does the record of the prices willingly accepted by the Indians elsewhere in New Netherland for great stretches of their soil. Even though money at that period was much more valuable than it is to-day, sixty guilders (about $24) may seem a small price for an island almost twenty-two square miles in extent — thirteen miles and a half in length and two and a half in width at the broadest part. But it would have been an absurd price for a garden plot. Land, it should be remembered, was the Indians' one

plentiful possession. Moreover, they were not dispossessed of their island but were only pledged, like tenants-at-will, to yield from time to time such portions of it as the white men might need — if, indeed, many of them used Manhattan as an actual abiding-place. Here and there on the island sites of Indian villages have been somewhat doubtfully identified; for the most part it seems to have been uninhabited although constantly frequented by the savages who lived on the neighboring shores. Of course Minuit gave, instead of useless money, articles that had an immense value in the Indians' eyes. Their character may be guessed from a list of the things paid seven years later for an extensive tract in the Connecticut Valley:

> One piece of duffels twenty-seven ells long; six axes, six kettles, eighteen knives, one sword-blade, one shears, and some toys.

In after days such purchase lists included a greater variety of articles — needles, for instance, combs, petticoats, boxes, looking-glasses, pipes and tobacco, fishing hooks, jews'-harps, and small bells reckoned by the hundred.

At the time when Manhattan was bought the first building of which any authentic record remains was begun, the building that gave its name to the nascent town. 'A fort was staked out,' says Wassenaer, by 'Master Kryn Frederycke, an engineer'; it was to be 'of large dimensions' and to be called 'Amsterdam'; it was to have 'four points' and to be faced outside entirely with stone 'as the walls of earth fall down.'

The Hollanders now understood that while Fort Orange must be the headquarters for their traffic with the savages some spot on the great harbor must be their depot for transatlantic intercourse and the administrative centre of the province. The very best spot they could have chosen was the southern end of Manhattan. It commanded the mouth of the river and supplied a vantage-point whence a watchful eye could sweep the whole circuit of the harbor down to its

far-off ocean gateway. It was low, not thickly wooded, and broken by beaches and little inlets where vessels could easily unload. So here the walls of the fort began to rise, and the rude cabins clustered which housed the settlers for a while.

It needs a lively effort of the imagination to reconstruct the aboriginal aspect of an island which the hand of man has so radically transformed — denuding, draining, and blasting it, raising its surfaces in many places and lowering them in others, to fit it for the enormous burden of iron, brick, and stone that it supports to-day.

Everywhere, in 1626, the surface of Manhattan was undulating or much more abruptly broken into heights, valleys, and swamps. Beyond its southern end, which was then much narrower than it is now, lay low wooded hills and grassy vales dotted with many ponds, the largest of them spreading its clear deep waters over and around the spot where the Tombs prison now stands. The Dutch called this beautiful sheet of water the Kalck Hoek (Chalk Point) Pond because of the great heaps of shells accumulated by the Indians on its shore. Corrupting this term, the later-coming English said Collect Pond. A little isle rested on the bosom of the pond and green hills encircled it. For generations it was a favorite resort for pleasure seekers, fishermen, sportsmen, and skaters; and on its waters Fitch experimented with his steamboat in 1796 and 1797. Gradually its beauty and its usefulness waned; it became unsightly and unwholesome, and early in the nineteenth century it was drained and filled in.

Fed by perennial springs, the Kalck Hoek Pond discharged its overflow into both rivers — into the East River by a stream which the Dutch called the Fresh Water (a term applied by the English to the pond itself) and into the North River by the one which in modern times gave Canal Street its name. This longer rivulet connected the pond with a great marsh seventy acres in extent; just north of it lay two smaller ponds; and, joining with these, other marshes, pools, and brooks formed a continuous chain of watery places from the point where James Street now meets the East

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far-off ocean gateway. It was low, not thickly wooded, and broken by beaches and little inlets where vessels could easily unload. So here the walls of the fort began to rise, and the rude cabins clustered which housed the settlers for a while.

It needs a lively effort of the imagination to reconstruct the aboriginal aspect of an island which the hand of man has so radically transformed — denuding, draining, and blasting it, raising its surfaces in many places and lowering them in others, to fit it for the enormous burden of iron, brick, and stone that it supports to-day.

Everywhere, in 1626, the surface of Manhattan was undulating or much more abruptly broken into heights, valleys, and swamps. Beyond its southern end, which was then much narrower than it is now, lay low wooded hills and grassy vales dotted with many ponds, the largest of them spreading its clear deep waters over and around the spot where the Tombs prison now stands. The Dutch called this beautiful sheet of water the Kalck Hoek (Chalk Point) Pond because of the great heaps of shells accumulated by the Indians on its shore. Corrupting this term, the later-coming English said Collect Pond. A little isle rested on the bosom of the pond and green hills encircled it. For generations it was a favorite resort for pleasure seekers, fishermen, sportsmen, and skaters; and on its waters Fitch experimented with his steamboat in 1796 and 1797. Gradually its beauty and its usefulness waned; it became unsightly and unwholesome, and early in the nineteenth century it was drained and filled in.

Fed by perennial springs, the Kalck Hoek Pond discharged its overflow into both rivers — into the East River by a stream which the Dutch called the Fresh Water (a term applied by the English to the pond itself) and into the North River by the one which in modern times gave Canal Street its name. This longer rivulet connected the pond with a great marsh seventy acres in extent; just north of it lay two smaller ponds; and, joining with these, other marshes, pools, and brooks formed a continuous chain of watery places from the point where James Street now meets the East

River to the one where Canal Street meets the Hudson. By means of these tortuous little channels the Indians often approached New Amsterdam when they came in their canoes to trade.

Hills were interspersed among these waters. One that was high enough to afford a fine view of all the lower part of the island rose where Grand Street now intersects Broadway. Beyond, there were sandhills toward the northwest, and a stream, called Bestavaar's Killtje (Rivulet), Minitie Water, or Minetta Brook, which drained another marshland lying where Washington Square lies now. North of this point the ridges of rock grew apparent which form a backbone for the island, like the keel of a very long and narrow inverted boat, and have determined where the principal north-and-south streets of the modern city should run. Here were higher hills, dense forests, and many little watercourses winding among rough ledges. A reach of low flatland formed the northeastern corner of the island. It was flanked toward the west by precipitous cliffs and the table-land, in some places two hundred feet above the Hudson, which grew famous in Revolutionary times as Harlem Heights and is crowned to-day by Morningside Park, the Episcopal cathedral, and the buildings of Columbia University. All the narrow elongated northwesterly end of the island was likewise high and rocky and densely wooded.

Soon after Minuit's arrival the colonists sent to the South River were brought back to Fort Amsterdam; and as the director at Fort Orange had foolishly embroiled himself in a war between the Mohawks and Mohegans, losing his own life thereby, all the families were brought down from this place in order, says Wassenaer, to strengthen the colony 'near the Manates who were becoming more and more accustomed to the strangers.' Sixteen fur-traders remained at Fort Orange, and on the South River a single vessel.

Minuit had brought a band of settlers from Holland, and more colonists must soon have followed for in 1628, says

Wassenaer, the people at Fort Amsterdam numbered two hundred and seventy. It was then the largest settlement in the northern parts of America except Plymouth which by 1626 had three hundred inhabitants. By 1620 about five thousand persons had been carried to Virginia, and in 1626 twelve hundred and seventy-five were counted there, but only one hundred and eighty-two of them were gathered together at Jamestown. The French post which in 1608 Champlain had founded and named Quebec contained only one hundred and five, almost at the point of starvation.

The settlers at Fort Amsterdam, says Wassenaer, mostly lived by farming, and the West India Company supplied, at a price of course, the needs they could not meet by their own labor. Of the town he writes:

> The counting house there is kept in a stone building thatched with reed; the other houses are of the bark of trees. Each has his own house. The Director and Koopman live together; there are thirty ordinary houses on the east side of the river which runs nearly north and south. . . . Men work there as in Holland; one trades upward, southward, and northward; another builds houses, and a third farms. . . . The houses of the Hollanders now stand without the fort, but when it is completed they will all repair within so as to garrison it and be secure from sudden attack.

Before long the director-general and some of the other officials did move into houses within the walls of the fort, but the rest of the settlers did not because, as we read on another page, the natives lived 'peaceably' with them. The houses of the settlers were not, as Wassenaer's statement may seem to mean, on the eastern bank of the Hudson. Eastward of the fort they stretched along the shore of the East River where it met the harbor, forming a little street which, although now greatly lengthened, still keeps one of its original names, Pearl Street (*Perel Straet*). It was also called the Strand, but it is now well removed from the docks and wharves. Water, Front, and South Streets have been laid out beyond it upon reclaimed land, as Washington and West Streets have been added along the North River Shore.

Houses 'of the bark of trees' were adaptations of Indian cabins or were built after a fashion described in later years by Cornelis Van Tienhoven, then the secretary of the province — with floors sunken for the sake of warmth some feet below the level of the ground and laid with planks, plank walls sheathed inside with bark, and a roof of beams covered with bark or sods. In houses of this sort, which Van Tienhoven describes as even more common in New England than in New Netherland, families could live 'dry and warm for two, three, and four years.' They were, indeed, better dwellings than the caves and the cabins of mud in which, in England as well as on the continent of Europe, many peasants were still compelled to live.

The fort, which was not finished until almost ten years had gone by, was about three hundred by two hundred and fifty feet in diameter and stood at the extremity of the island between the Bridge, Whitehall, and State streets and the Bowling Green of to-day, overlooking a reef of rocks which at a later time was filled in, extended, fortified, and called the Battery. The new Custom House stands upon its site, now at some distance from the shore. Its sally-port, guarded by a small redoubt or horn, opened toward the north on the Bowling Green which for generations was an unadorned space called the Plain and used for military exercises, for markets, and for public gatherings. Long the centre and focus of local life it is now a little green oasis in the business district of the city.

A windmill to grind grain for the Company's employees stood close to the fort. One for general use upon the payment of fees to the Company stood north of the Plain on the present line of Broadway, then an Indian path. The upper floor of the Company's counting-house was a storage place for furs; the lower held the supplies that it sold to the people. This was Manhattan's first 'general store.'

At the other end of the rudimentary street which began at the fort a dock was built by the mouth of a small creek that offered good facilities for the discharge of cargoes. Thus

the commercial centre of the town was established; and it has never shifted its place, for the Broad Street of to-day, where the Stock Exchange stands, follows the course of the creek which the Dutchmen soon turned into a canal. Beaver Street got its name from a little branch of the creek called Beaver Canal.

While the people were awaiting a clergyman, says Wassenaer, two 'comforters of the sick' read to them on Sundays 'from texts of Scripture with the creed.' One Francis Molemaecker was busy building a horse-mill; over it was to be 'a spacious room sufficient to accommodate a large congregation,' and on it a tower 'where the bells brought from Porto Rico' would be hung. This is one of the very few touches of picturesqueness in the early accounts of Manhattan — this mention of church bells that were evidently military trophies also, captured from the Spaniards in 1625 at Porto Rico where the same flag now flies that flies on Manhattan. Comforters or visitors of the sick were, among the Dutch, authorized helpers of the clergy who did missionary work when a minister was not available and were commonly schoolmasters also.

An undated letter about the affairs of New Netherland written by Secretary De Rasières is to be attributed to the year 1628 when he had returned to Holland. Addressed to Samuel Blommaert, a member of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company who seems to have been De Rasières' special patron, it says that Manhattan was inhabited by 'the old Manhatesen . . . about two hundred to three hundred strong, women and men,' and explains that although it was 'full of trees and in the middle rocky' in several places there was very good land to be tilled without much clearing. Six farms, four of which lay 'along the River Hellegat stretching to the south side of the island,' contained at least one hundred and twenty acres ready to be sown with winter seed, and 'at the most' had been ploughed eight times.

These six farms or 'bouweries' belonged to the West India Company. On the western shore of the island, extending

from the fort to the present site of Trinity Church, lay the Company's garden and beyond it, as far as the Duane Street of to-day, stretched what was called its Bouwerie No. 1, reserved for the support of its officials and workmen. This, called successively in English times the Duke's Farm, the King's Farm, and when Queen Anne was on the throne the Queen's Farm, formed part of the broad tract that has since grown famous as the property of Trinity Church. Farther north another large bouwerie named the Bossen Bouwerie or Farm in the Forest, occupied the fertile tract on the shores of the North River, called by the Indians Sapponikan, where the village of Greenwich afterwards grew up.

The other farms, also prepared for cultivation by the servants of the West India Company, were leased to individuals on terms which are explained in a petition addressed to the Amsterdam Chamber by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer in 1634 when he had himself planted a colony far up the North River. Speaking of contracts signed in 1630 he says that the Company leased to each farmer for a term of six years and for a rent which he does not specify 'a suitable farmstead provided with house, barn and granary with about fifty *morgens*' (one hundred acres) of land, and that for 600 guilders to be paid in six instalments it sold to each four horses and four cows with their foals and calves, two heifers, six sheep, six pigs, and 'wagons, ploughs, and the like implements.'

Thus the settlement on Manhattan was not a colony as we now understand the term — primarily a settlement of men; it was in the strict sense a colonial plantation — an investment of capital. It was established and nurtured not for its own sake but for the sake of a European trading company. No settler had as yet a personal title, formal or informal, to a foot of land and none traded over seas for his personal account.

Other descriptions of New Netherland besides the one in Wassenaer's general history were now getting into print and exciting a practical interest in the province. Possibly the

most important of them was written with this end in view — the *New World* of Johan De Laet, published in 1625 and containing nine pages about the Dutch province — for De Laet was a member of the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company. It said little of the colonists but described the country and the aborigines at length, quoting Hudson's journal and, it may be assumed, also making use of the reports drawn up by Block, Christiaensen, and Mey. It was in 1625 also that Juet's log of the *Half Moon's* voyage was printed in England. In 1630 a second edition of De Laet's book appeared with the first map of New Netherland that is known to have been printed, a map entitled *Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia.* In preparing this the Figurative Maps may have been used, although there are many divergencies, and also one called Jacobsen's Map, drawn in 1621, which showed little more than the coast-lines. De Laet's gives their names to the North, South, and Fresh rivers, Hellegat, and Block's Island, locates the Manhattes on Manhattan Island and the western shore of the Hudson, and calls the town on the island not Fort Amsterdam but New Amsterdam — the earliest known use of this name. Fort Amsterdam continued to be the official designation of the seat of the provincial government while the town was New Amsterdam or Amsterdam in New Netherland. De Laet's map formed the basis of many others included in atlases published in later years.

More interesting than anything printed in Europe at this time are two letters written on Manhattan by the first clergyman sent to the province, Jonas Michaelius. Fortunately preserved in the original manuscript, they are the earliest autograph papers of any kind written in the province that are known to exist.

Domine Michaelius — to use the Dutch title for a clergyman, still often used in New York — had ministered to congregations in Holland, Brazil, and Guiana before the classis of Amsterdam, at the request of the West India Company, sent him to Manhattan for a term of three years. With his

wife and three little children he sailed from the Texel on January 7, 1628, coming by way of Bermuda and arriving on April 7. The first of his letters was addressed to Johannes Foreest of Hoorn, a man of patrician birth who was secretary to the executive council of the provincial States of North Holland and West Friesland and a member of the West India Company. Preserved by Foreest's descendants but forgotten until their books and papers were sold in 1902, it was then bought by an American collector and was published with a translation in 1904. It is dated August 8, 1628, 'From the Island of the Manhates in New Netherland.' The voyage from the fatherland, it says, had been 'difficult and perilous' and the treatment of the passengers 'rather severe and mean,' the cook being 'very wicked and ungodly' and the skipper 'as unmannerly as a buffalo.' The clergyman's wife suffered greatly and died five weeks after her arrival, which was the more to be deplored as both she and her husband were 'well pleased with the country.' Manhattan was somewhat less fertile than other places and was troublesome to till on account of 'the multitude of roots of shrubs and trees.' Food was scarce and dear, but ten or twelve more farmers 'with cattle and land in proportion' would have sufficed to help the settlers out of 'all difficulties.' The people were building new houses in place of the 'hovels and holes' in which they had 'huddled rather than dwelt.' They were cutting wood and erecting a sawmill so as to export to the fatherland 'whole cargoes of timber fit for building houses and ships.' Sawmills driven by the wind, it may be noted, were as yet unknown among the English. Vines that Foreest had given Michaelius had been planted and had sprouted; 'nut trees and currants' had failed to take root. In return for these gifts Michaelius was sending home, to be turned by a silversmith into the shanks of spoons, certain little bones of the beaver which the Indian women wore 'as finery and ornament.' Other parts of the letter are repeated in a more detailed and informing fashion in the clergyman's second epistle, written only three days later, on August 11,

which was discovered in Holland in 1858 and is now in the New York Public Library.

This, addressed not to a social superior but to a fellow-clergyman, the Reverend Adrianus Smoutius, is more interesting because more free and intimate in tone. It gives Michaelius's opinion of those 'devilish men' the aborigines, and of their manners, customs, and language. It says that by the death of his wife he was greatly 'hindered and distressed' as his daughters were yet small, white maid-servants were not to be had, at least none whom he was advised to employ, and the 'Angola slaves' — negresses fresh from Africa — were 'thievish, lazy, and useless trash.' He was not satisfied with the way the Company had treated him:

> The promise which the Honorable Directors of the Company had made me of some acres or surveyed lands for me to make myself a home, instead of a free table which otherwise belonged to me, is void and useless; for their Honors well know that there are no horses, cows, or laborers to be obtained here for money. . . . So I shall be compelled to pass through the winter without butter and other necessaries which the ships did not bring out with them to be sold here. The rations which are given out, and charged for high enough, are all hard, stale food as they are used to on board ship, and frequently not very good; and even so one cannot obtain as much as he desires. . . . In consequence of this hard fare of beans and gray peas, which are hard enough, barley, stock-fish etc., without much change, I cannot fully recuperate as I otherwise should. The summer yields something, but what of that for one who has no strength? The savages also bring some things, but one who has no wares, such as knives, beads, and the like, or seawan, cannot come to any terms with them. . . . I have now ordered from Holland most all necessaries, but I expect to pass through the winter with hard and scanty food. The country yields many things for the support of life but they are all too unfit and wild to be gathered. . . .

Coarse fare, no doubt, but it would have seemed luxury indeed to the starving Pilgrims at Plymouth during their first winter when they were thankful for meals of shell-fish and water. More cheerfully Michaelius continues:

. . . As to the waters both of the sea and rivers they yield all kinds of fish; and as to the land it abounds in all kinds of game, wild and in the groves, with vegetables, fruits, roots, herbs, and plants both for eating and medicinal purposes, working wonderful cures. . . . The country is good and pleasant and the climate is healthy notwithstanding the sudden changes of cold and heat. The sun is very warm; the winter is strong and severe and continues full as long as in our country. The best remedy is not to spare the wood, of which there is enough, and to cover oneself with rough skins which can also easily be obtained. . . . Until now there has been distress because many of the people were not very industrious and also did not obtain proper sustenance for want of bread and other necessaries. But affairs are beginning to put on a better appearance, if only the directors will send out good laborers and exercise all care that they be maintained as well as possible with what this country produces.

A humble and prosaic little outpost in the wilderness was Governor Minuit's New Amsterdam. Its inhabitants, Domine Michaelius bears witness, were 'good people,' but they were 'for the most part simple' and had had 'little experience in public affairs.' There was no thought as yet of political rights in any shape, and no talk, like the Reverend John Robinson's, of the propagation of 'pure' forms of faith. Yet the pastor tells that he had formed a congregation and at the first service had had 'fully fifty communicants . . . Walloons and Dutch,' a goodly number in a community of less than three hundred souls. The Walloons, he explains, understood but little Dutch so he administered the Lord's Supper to them in French and read them a French sermon. One of the comforters of the sick who had preceded him, Bastiaen Janssen Crol, or Krol, had been sent to Fort Orange as director of that post; the other, Jan Huyck, or Huyckens, Governor Minuit's brother-in-law, was the West India Company's storekeeper. Both served as elders in the church organization that Michaelius at once effected, and so did the governor himself who had held a similar position in the French or Walloon church at Wesel. The little consistory that thus took shape is still alive — the consistory of the Collegiate Church of the City of New York. The communion

of which it formed the corner-stone, called in early English times the Reformed Dutch Church in New York, afterwards the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in America, or in popular parlance the Dutch Reformed Church, unfortunately saw fit to strike the 'Dutch' from its name in 1867. It is the oldest communion in the Western world that represents the Presbyterian branch of Protestantism. Its baptismal and other records as now preserved begin with the year 1639.

The first of its pastors, it may be noticed, spoke the earliest recorded words which foreshadow, dimly though it be, the most radical reform that the North American colonies were destined to work in the world-old art of government — the separation of church and state. In his second letter Michaelius said:

> And although our small consistory embraces at the most . . . not more than four persons all of whom, myself alone excepted, have also public business to attend to, I still hope to separate carefully the ecclesiastical from the civil matters which occur, so that each one will be occupied with his own subject. And though many things are still *mixti generis*, and political and ecclesiastical persons can greatly assist each other, nevertheless, the matters and offices belonging together must not be mixed but be kept separate in order to prevent confusion and disorder.

Of course the meaning of this passage must not be pushed too far. But even if it be taken in the most restricted sense it expresses an attitude of mind fundamentally different from that of the clergy of the young New England colonies.

The people of Manhattan and New Plymouth had met on Buzzard's Bay where, at Manomet, both colonies had trading houses. Manomet Creek, running southward into this bay, and Scusset Creek, running northward into Cape Cod Bay, were navigable for small boats, and the portage between them was not more than six miles in length. By this route the Plymouth people could go southward without sailing around the dangerous cape; and they saw that it was a desir-

able place for that ship canal which, always under discussion since their day, has not yet been built.

As early as the year 1623 the governor of Plymouth, William Bradford, and the assistant governor, Isaac Allerton, sent by Edward Winslow to the backers of the colony in England a letter saying that its traffic with the Indians had fallen off and probably would not revive,

> . . . seeing the Dutch on the one side and the French on the other side, and the fishermen and other plantations between both, have and do furnish the savages, not with toys and trifles, but with good and substantial commodities, as kettles, hatchets, and clothes of all sorts.

Four years later Governor Minuit opened direct communication between the two colonies, sending to Governor Bradford by a special messenger a letter congratulating the people of Plymouth on the successful planting of their colony and offering on behalf of his own people to trade with them in furs or other commodities. Prepared by Secretary De Rasières in two versions, Dutch and French, this letter is now accessible only as Bradford preserved it, the elaborately courteous form of address, which excited his surprise, standing in Dutch and the rest in an English translation. Bradford answered civilly; other messengers passed to and fro bringing him, as he recorded, other 'kind letters,' likewise preserved for us in his *Letter-Book*, and on one occasion pleasing Dutch gifts, 'a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses'; and before the end of the year Secretary De Rasières went himself to Plymouth. He and his companion, says Bradford, 'came up with their bark to Manamete to their house there.' From this house overland to the Pilgrims' settlement was a six hours' journey. De Rasières, he himself relates, had not 'gone so far this three or four years,' wherefore he feared his feet would fail him. So by his request the Plymouth people sent a boat to meet him at the head of Scusset Creek, and thus he came to Plymouth 'honorably attended with a noise of trumpeters,' these being a part of his own little suite. Kindly entertained for a few days, he then returned with a

number of Englishmen to his bark and sold them some of the goods with which it was laden.

Bradford's *Letter-Book* tells us that he and his people understood that the masters of these Dutch envoys

> . . . were willing to have friendship with us and to supply us with sundry commodities, and offered us assistance against the French if need were. The which, though we knew it was with an eye to their own profits, yet we had reason both kindly to accept it and make use of it.

In his *History of Plymouth Plantation* the governor adds that after this beginning the Dutch sent often to the same place 'for divers years,' exchanging tobacco for linen cloth, stuffs, and so forth, which was of 'good benefit' to the Plymouth people until the Virginians found out their plantation:

> But that which turned most to their profit, in time, was an entrance into the trade of wampumpeake; for they now bought about £50 worth of it from them. . . .

That is, the Plymouth men bought wampum of De Rasières and his companions who told them how much the Hudson River Indians valued it and persuaded them that it would prove just as 'vendable' at Kennebec whither they went for peltry. This proved so true, says Bradford, that soon the Plymouth traders 'quite cut off' the traffic of the fishermen and largely that of the 'straggling planters' along the New England coast. Less happy results followed in later years. The Indian neighbors of the Englishmen had not known about wampum till the Dutch brought knowledge of it, and it wrought a great change in them. Condensing Bradford's longer explanation, Nathaniel Morton says that they grew 'rich and proud and powerful' by its use; previously 'they could not attain English ammunition'; but as they learned 'to make store of wampum they furnished themselves with guns, powder, and shot.' Neither the English nor the Dutch could be prevented by the most stringent ordinances from

selling these dangerous wares; and thus the root was planted of the worst troubles that New England was to know.

In writing his history Governor Bradford did not refer to the most important matter under discussion between himself and Governor Minuit. In fact, from a transcript, professedly complete, of one of his letters to Minuit he omitted a passage bearing upon this matter. The full text in his *Letter-Book*, other letters there preserved, written to Minuit and to the Council for New England, and the Dutch accounts of the incident tell that he had questioned at once the right of the Hollanders to live or to trade in regions covered by the patents given by the Council for New England to the Plymouth people and others. The Council, he explained, had empowered its colonists to 'expulse or make prize of' any strangers or unauthorized Englishmen who should intrude within their limits, which extended down to the fortieth parallel; and although his people would not 'go about to molest or trouble' Minuit's but hoped to live in good correspondence with them, he desired them to forbear from trading in Buzzard's Bay, Narragansett Bay, and the vicinity. Minuit's answer, says Bradford's summary, was very friendly but maintained the Hollanders' 'right and liberty to trade' in those parts which they had frequented undisturbed for many years, declaring that as the English had authority from their king so they themselves 'had the like from the States of Holland which they would defend.' Minuit asked that a commissioner to discuss the question might be sent to Fort Amsterdam, Bradford that one might come to Plymouth. This was the reason why De Rasières made the journey and was received with so much formality. Bradford then urged the New Netherlanders to have the home authorities 'clear the title' of their 'planting in those parts' lest it become 'a bone of contention in these stirring evil times' and lest in after days an arrangement might be 'with more difficulty obtained . . . and perhaps not without blows.' Finally both governors referred the matter to their superiors in Europe.

In spite of its tenor this correspondence was couched in the

friendliest words, and at the moment the home governments were not only friends but allies. In 1624 James I had entered into a defensive alliance with the Dutch; and in 1625 Charles I, soon after his accession, signed with them a treaty of defence and offence against Spain. This Treaty of Southampton opened the harbors of each country freely to the ships of the other; and in 1627, on petition of the West India Company, its benefits were extended to cover all colonial ports. No protest about the Dutch occupation of New Netherland was then uttered by England.

These European arrangements, however, did not quiet the uneasiness that Bradford's words had awakened in the province itself. As the West India Company informed the States General in November, 1627,

> The last letters from New Netherland bring word that the English of New Plymouth threaten to drive away those there or to disturb them in their quiet possession and infant colony, notwithstanding ours heretofore had tendered to them every good correspondence and friendship. They therefore request the aid of forty soldiers for their defence. We would rather see it secured by friendly alliance.

De Rasières soon fell out with Governor Minuit and returned to Holland. There he wrote for Samuel Blommaert the long letter or report already quoted in regard to the bouweries on Manhattan. Describing also his visit to Plymouth it paints a more detailed picture of that place in its early days than has come down to us from any English pen, and it explains even more clearly than do Bradford's letters why the New Netherlanders felt afraid of Bradford's people. When De Rasières reached Manomet, he says, the Englishmen there had just built a shallop to seek for wampum among the Narragansett Indians but he had prevented them for that year by selling them fifty fathoms of it because he feared that

> . . . the seeking for it would lead them to discover our trade in furs which, if they were to find it out, it would be a great trouble for us to maintain, for they already dare to threaten that if we will not leave off dealing with that people they will be obliged to seek other

means; if they do that now while they are yet ignorant how the case stands, what will they do when they do get a notion of it?

Another mile-stone in the history of New Netherland was set in the year 1629.

At this time, six years after the organization of the West India Company had swept all the profits of traffic with the province into its coffers, its directors reported to the States General that, although the trade was 'right advantageous,' one year with another it returned at the most 50,000 guilders, while the expense of maintaining the plantations was very great for as yet the settlers were not a profit but a loss to the Company. In 1624, it appears, the Amsterdam Chamber had exported to Manhattan something more than 25,000 guilders' worth of goods while the returns, wholly in furs and timber, were valued at 27,000 guilders; and in 1627 the imports like the exports amounted to about 56,000 guilders. Meanwhile, the cost of the little colonial establishment and of transatlantic carriage was borne, of course, by the Chamber.

A more considerable trade in commodities of various kinds might be built up with the province, the directors asserted, probably on the witness of De Rasières; but the soil being full of 'weeds and wild productions' could not be properly cultivated because of the scantiness of the population. A wish to own land seems to have been awakening among the settlers; at least, Michaelius begged that the directors would inform him how he might 'possess a portion of land' and at his own expense support himself thereon. And according to Kiliaen Van Rensselaer the Company had so neglected and mismanaged the affairs of its province that it was now driven to invite the coöperation of individuals.

There were, it appears, two parties among the directors, one favoring the colonization of the province, the other advocating its maintenance as a mere station for trade in the belief that colonists would prove a burden rather than a source of profit and would despoil the Company of the fur trade. After much discussion, however, a scheme to further and to regulate

colonization was agreed upon and, as embodied in a so-called Charter of Freedoms (or Privileges) and Exemptions, was ratified by the States General in June, 1629, and in printed form distributed through the fatherland.

By the terms of this charter the Company reserved for itself the island of Manhattan. Elsewhere persons of any sort of whom the director-general and council approved were to be permitted to take up, on their own account or that of some 'master,' as much land as they could properly cultivate and were to enjoy 'free liberty in hunting and fowling . . . in private and public woods and waters about their colonies.' Such persons were called 'freemen' or 'free merchants.' Much greater privileges were secured to any member of the Company who should engage to take out within four years at his own cost and risk fifty adult settlers. He might claim lands stretching sixteen English miles along the seacoast or one side of a navigable river, or eight miles along both sides of a river, and might exchange them for others should they prove undesirable. The introduction of more settlers would entitle him to more land; and within his domain he was to be a semi-independent 'patroon' or 'lord' with gaming and fishing rights, mill rights, tenths from the harvests and other privileges such as the great landowners of the fatherland enjoyed, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, the power to appoint all magistrates, and the right to send a delegate annually to Fort Amsterdam to consult with the director-general and council regarding affairs of common interest. These provisions marked the first step toward local self-government in New Netherland.

The people whom a patroon should send out were to bind themselves for a term of years and during this term were to be his subjects, swearing fealty to him and pledging themselves not to leave his land and control. The Company promised to supply the patroons with African slaves if possible; and to encourage immigrants to become their tenants it exempted their people but not the 'free' merchants or colonists for ten years from all obligation to pay taxes to the

provincial government. No free colonist was to claim land within twenty-four miles of a patroonship.

On the other hand the Company strictly ordered all colonists including the patroons to satisfy the Indians for their lands. It forbade them upon pain of banishment to manufacture cloth or stuffs of any kind — lest, of course, its own profits from the exportation of necessaries be diminished. It directed the patroons to render formal annual reports upon their colonies, and enjoined them to establish churches and schools. The most hotly debated point when the charter was framed had been the question of the fur trade. The final decision was that the patroons might trade the produce of their farms for furs in places where the Company stationed no commissary but must pay a tax of one guilder on each skin. In other commodities they might trade along the coast from Newfoundland to Carolina upon condition that they would bring their cargoes to Manhattan and there pay a duty of five per cent before reshipping them, and would send fish not to Holland but only to neutral countries upon payment of an export duty of three guilders a ton. All these prohibitions and limitations were set because the Company intended 'to people the Island of the Manathes first.' But as it had reserved Manhattan for itself this simply meant that its aim in trying to people any part of its province was to draw commercial profit from the settlers' enterprises. It was to transport colonists and goods at reasonable rates, cattle and farm implements free. If no Company ships were ready patroons might use their own, taking on board an official of the Company; and for ten years they were to pay no import duties. Furthermore the Company promised to finish at once the fort on Manhattan and to put it in good posture of defence.

Possibly the West India Company got the idea of establishing patroonships in New Netherland from the great estates called 'captaincies' created by the Portuguese in Brazil. It can hardly be doubted that one of the reasons for creating them was a belief that the desire not merely for wealth but also for rank and power based upon the ownership of land

would be a potent spur to effort in the New World as it was in the Old, and that it might here be gratified by arrangements similar to those which the Old World had inherited from feudal times; for in Holland the great landed estates shared with the cities and chartered towns those rights of local self-government upon which the whole structure of the provincial and federal governments reposed. Nevertheless, the oft-repeated statement that the establishment of patroonships in New Netherland transplanted feudalism to its soil is not true except in a much modified sense. It is not true as it would be if applied to French arrangements in Canada; it is less true than it would be of the original arrangements in Maryland. The New Netherland patroonships were seigniorial but not feudal properties; estates of the kind called in Holland new fiefs, *nova feuda;* estates divested of all burdensome attributes, hereditary allodial lands. Their owners were soon empowered to sell them in fee in whole or in part and, in whole or in part, to devise them as they might desire. They were given no military power and were directed to rule their people in accordance with laws which the Assembly of the XIX should frame. And their people were not serfs but tenants; they were bound by their own free act and only for short specified terms, and they had a right of appeal from the patroon's court to that of the director-general at Fort Amsterdam in all cases involving more than fifty guilders. Nor did these patroonships influence the development of New Netherland and New York as profoundly as is often said. They did not multiply and flourish as the West India Company expected or as tradition vaguely but persistently affirms. In fact only one patroonship succeeded and survived.

This was established by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer who belonged by birth to the landed gentry of the fatherland, having an ancestral estate near Nykerk in the present province of Guelderland, but was educated as a merchant and in 1629, when he was about fifty years of age, was well known as a dealer in pearls and jewels at Amsterdam. Next to the directors of the West India Company stood a body of large

stock-holders called Chief Participants. They were not engaged in the daily management of the Company yet their consent was needed for any important decision, annual reports and accounts were submitted to them, and it had been agreed that the first two vacancies in the board of directors should be filled from their ranks. Van Rensselaer was the first director received into the Amsterdam Chamber in accordance with this rule and also, apparently, the first of the special commissioners appointed from time to time from among the directors to attend to the affairs of New Netherland. He seems to have been active in furthering the despatch of Jesse De Forest's pioneer band of emigrants; and certainly from the beginning he was the leading spirit in the party that favored the colonizing of the province by agricultural settlers.

His *Letter-Book*, a *Memorial* that he addressed to the West India Company in 1633, and a number of other papers, private and official, relating to the concerns of the province were preserved by his descendants in Holland but were made known to students only about twenty years ago and were not published in their entirety until the State of New York issued them in an English translation in 1908. They throw new light not only upon Van Rensselaer's own activities but also upon the attitude of the Company toward its province and upon the character and conduct of some of its employees; and they add another name to the list, long supposed complete, of the governors of New Netherland.

It had been stipulated that directors intending to plant colonies under the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions might send two agents to examine the country; in January, 1629, six months before the charter was ratified, Van Rensselaer, Samuel Blommaert, and Samuel Godyn announced their intention to do so; and during the summer of this year sites for several patroonships were actually claimed. Michiel Paauw, Lord of Achtienhoven, an estate near Utrecht, claimed lands on the west shore of the North River opposite Manhattan — an advantageous place as the Indians frequented it who came to trade their furs with the Dutchmen — and an

island in the West Indies. Blommaert chose lands on the Fresh River, Godyn lands on the south shore of the bay of the South River, and Albert Conraedtsen Burgh a tract on the opposite shore of this bay and also the island of St. Vincent. And in this and the following year Van Rensselaer secured great tracts on the North River above and below Fort Orange, buying them of the Indians through his agents one of whom was Bastiaen Janssen Crol, the Company's commissary or director at the fort.

To legalize such acquisitions of territory Director-General Minuit in council signed and sealed deeds which pledged the savages to abide by their compacts and confirmed the purchasers in their rights. The oldest document preserved in the archives of the State of New York is the deed which thus ratified Paauw's purchase of the lands 'called Hobocan Hackingh' opposite Manhattan, now covered by the city of Hoboken. It defines boundaries as precisely as was possible with an unsurveyed tract, and says that certain Indians acting for the other 'joint owners' were present when it was signed, on July 12, 1630. The deed attesting Godyn's right to the South River tract was given in the same month, Van Rensselaer's deed for the first of his purchases in August. Thus Paauw, Godyn, and Van Rensselaer became respectively the first landowners within the borders of the present States of New Jersey, Delaware, and New York.

Deeds of this kind sanctioning purchase from the Indians are usually referred to as 'land patents.' Deeds which in after years confirmed a colonist in the possession of lands already occupied for some time, or granted him by the provincial government from those in its own hands, are called 'ground briefs' from the Dutch term *grondbrief*. Both kinds were public records essential to validity of title. 'Transports' or transfers, mortgages, and all other private compacts in which real estate was involved were also officially attested and recorded; and records of this sort, as well as land patents and ground briefs, were preserved in the office of the secretary of the province but in a separate series distinct from those relat-

ing to transactions in which the government figured. Thus immediately and systematically the Dutch introduced into the New World practices assuring the validity of titles and facilitating transfers of land which had prevailed in various parts of the Netherlands for generations before they were perfected and made general in the time of Charles V, but which were utterly unknown in the England of the seventeenth century and, indeed, are still to be desired in the England of to-day.

Michiel Paauw, latinizing his surname which in English would be Peacock, called his patroonship Pavonia, a name still kept alive by the Pavonia Ferry. Although there is a village near Antwerp called Hoboken and a surname thence derived was known in New Netherland, Hobocan Hackingh, which survives as Hoboken, seems to have been an Indian name, a belief corroborated by the fact that the Dutchmen spelled it variously with no apparent memory of the Flemish village in mind.

Paauw kept in his own hands the settlement, management, and possible profits of his patroonship. But before Van Rensselaer, Blommaert, and Godyn obtained their lands they agreed to develop them on joint account, each patroonship under the personal direction of one of the four who should have a two-fifth share therein (his associates having each a one-fifth share) with the title Patroon and the right to expend on his own responsibility sums of less than 2000 guilders. In this fashion Van Rensselaer retained the management of the North River patroonship to which he gave the name of his estate at home, Rensselaerswyck.

None of these Amsterdam investors ever came to America but they and others continued to take up lands. Van Rensselaer, Blommaert, and Godyn each claimed a West Indian island, and six members of the Zealand Chamber likewise declared themselves as patroons in the West Indies or on the coast of Guiana. Before the end of 1630 Paauw enlarged Pavonia by securing the adjoining tract where Jersey City

stands and the whole of Staten Island. A deposition made in 1659 by Cornelis Melyn who had then for some years owned the greater part of Staten Island says, without mentioning Paauw, that on July 12, 1630, it was bought by Minuit for the West India Company and that the Indians received for it 'some duffels, kettles, axes, hoes, wampum, drilling awls, jews'-harps, and divers other small wares.'

Van Rensselaer at once enlarged Rensselaerswyck, purchasing lands on both banks of the river. In some ways his site was even better than Paauw's. If the fact that Fort Orange was a Company fur-trading post forbade him to gather pelts near by, on the other hand the fort promised protection for his people, and he could hope for profit in selling provisions to the garrison. The Company's commissary, Crol, not only acted as his agent in buying lands but also supervised the laying out of farms when, before the end of 1630, the first settlers arrived; and, with Governor Minuit's permission, the Company's laborers aided in the work. In January, 1631, Van Rensselaer sent out another band of settlers — tobacco planters, two Scandinavians to run a sawmill and a grist-mill, and some laborers. Brick and tile kilns were soon started, and thus was established in New Netherland the only patroonship that was destined to exist for more than a few precarious years.

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CHAPTER IV

MISMANAGEMENT

1630–1636

(Governor Minuit, Governor Crol, Governor Van Twiller)

In the infancy of this country the directors adopted wrong plans and, in our opinion, looked more to their own profit than to the country's welfare. — *Remonstrance of New Netherland to the States General of the United Netherlands. 1649.*

Little is known of Governor Minuit's administration for, barring a few land patents, the official records have disappeared. The Michaelius letters, however, the Van Rensselaer papers, and the references to Minuit's time in New Netherland documents of later days suffice to show that there was constant quarrelling on Manhattan and constant disputing among the directors of the West India Company at Amsterdam.

Many evil tongues vilified Minuit, says Van Rensselaer, especially the tongue of the 'crafty knave' Jan Van Remund. Sent out in 1628 to replace De Rasières as secretary of the province, he was doing his best to excite the minister against the governor. The minister's letter to Foreest went by the hands of one of the councillors who, dissatisfied with the Company's course, was thinking of leaving the province for good. He had done 'faithful service,' Michaelius wrote. According to another councillor, Simon Dircksen Pos, no official was doing such service. Writing to Van Rensselaer in the autumn of 1630 Pos said that the farmers on Manhattan were daily ploughing and harrowing so much land that they needed more seed-corn from Holland; a good deal of rye and wheat was ready to be delivered, and therefore the

directors should soon be relieved of one of their 'great expenses,' the provisioning of their people. On the other hand there were as yet no more than two or three hundred people on the island, and the governor and the secretary were so 'embittered' against each other that they entirely neglected their duties:

> Here all is left to drift as it will. They let trade slip away and show no zeal to increase it, either by sloops or otherwise, but accuse each other in exorbitant lawsuits and defame each other's walk and conversation to the Lords. The minister, Jonas Michelzoon, is very zealous in stirring up the fire between them; it would beseem him to be a mediator in God's church and community; but he seems to me to be the contrary.

Consequently the 'Lords Directors' heard from their underlings in New Netherland nothing but 'idle propositions,' one saying one thing and one another while, as none looked after trade, other people in the meantime ran away with the furs. The settlers were sending them away secretly in their chests, and the English were likely to thrust the New Netherlanders from the traffic on Buzzard's Bay.

According to Michaelius also 'some of the directors and heads' had 'by bad management . . . rather kept back than helped the people and the country' while many of the people had wanted to live in idleness, saying that if they had to work they might as well have stayed in Holland, and that if they were in the service of the Company it mattered not whether they did much or little. But such persons were 'reshipped home as useless ballast,' things were already going better in 1628, and they would continue to improve if the Company would send out good laborers and take due care to supply its people's needs. Nor does it seem as though Minuit can have been quite as supine as Pos declared, for the exports from the province trebled during the six years that he governed it, amounting in round numbers in 1626 to 45,000 guilders, in 1630 to 68,000, and in 1632 to almost 150,000. The goods received from the Company in these same years were valued

at 20,300, 57,500, and 31,300 guilders. In 1628, however, the Company had sent out no supplies, in 1631 it had received no furs at all. De Laet gives similar figures in a history of the West India Company which contains no other facts about New Netherland: in the nine years between 1624 and 1632 the Company had received more than 63,000 skins, almost all beavers, worth 454,000 guilders, and had consigned to the province 273,000 guilders' worth of goods, sending once during a single year four ships, usually two or three, twice only one. More timber was cut and sawed, says Domine Michaelius, than there were ships to carry away, and various industries were started although not with much success:

> They bake brick here but it is very poor. There is good material for burning lime, namely oyster shells in large quantities. The burning of potash has not succeeded; the master and his laborers are all greatly disappointed. There is good opportunity for making salt.

Certainly the governor had shown energy and good sense in opening trade with Plymouth; and he showed energy at least when, in 1631, he subsidized certain Swedish shipwrights who, bringing the timber from far up the North River, built at Manhattan a great ship called the *New Netherland*. It was fitted to carry thirty guns and according to some accounts was of six hundred tons burden, according to others of eight hundred. It was one of the largest merchantmen afloat, and not for two hundred years was another as large launched in the same waters. Sent at once to Holland and employed in the West India trade, everywhere it excited wonder by its size and by the excellence and variety of the timber used in its construction. But it was so costly that the Company blamed Minuit for building it; and in after years the colonists cited it as one among many proofs that the Company had grossly mismanaged their affairs while in the same sense they complained of the ill-judged attempts to make lime, potash, and salt.

The brig *Blessing of the Bay*, the first decked vessel built in Massachusetts, which was also launched in 1631, was of but

thirty tons burden and was intended simply to gather corn from the Indians along the coast. The first New England vessel sent across the Atlantic was built in 1638.

Naturally the fact that things were not going well on Manhattan strengthened the party in the Amsterdam Chamber which had always opposed colonization; and the quarrel between Minuit and Van Remund intensified the disputing at home, for Van Rensselaer supported the governor while the special commissioner for New Netherland affairs supported the secretary. All this worked against the success of the patroons. In Van Rensselaer's *Memorial* of 1633 he says that his partners had spent 15,000 guilders in an attempt to colonize the island of Tortugas which was soon taken by the English because the Company did not give its patroons the protection it had promised them; a vessel sent to take possession of the Isle du Sable had been captured by the French; twenty-eight persons sent in 1631 to colonize the patroonship called Swanendael (Swan Vale), for which Godyn had claimed lands on the bay of the South River, perished at the hands of Indians whom their leader did not know how to conciliate, and again the Company although urged to do so would not lend a helping hand. Moreover, when the news of the first purchases of land reached Holland and the patroons' agents returned with cargoes that brought some profit, the gain was greatly magnified by the 'contrary minded' who declared that the patroons had appropriated all the desirable lands in the province yet did not intend to colonize them but only to absorb the fur trade to the ruin of the Company. This increased the number of the 'contrary minded' and also intimidated several persons who had meant to plant colonies, among them Samuel Blommaert who had claimed a tract on the Fresh River. Nor were the patroons' enterprises popular among the classes from which emigrants were drawn. It was hard for them to get any settlers although a number of people were willing to go out as free colonists.

The 'contrary minded' being now in a majority in the

indebtedness and ordered his agent at New Amsterdam to send their animals up to Rensselaerswyck. This Governor Crol would not permit, thinking it unwise to deprive the Company's farms of cattle.

Meanwhile the ship *Eendraght* carrying Peter Minuit home was driven by stress of weather into the harbor of Plymouth in England and there for a time detained.

The English had been active in America during the decade since the establishment of the Dutch province. In 1624, the charter of the London Virginia Company being annulled, the crown resumed the privileges it had granted and assumed the management of the colony. Thus Virginia became the first of those royal provinces which in after years included New York. Some of the smaller West Indian islands had now been acquired, and in 1625 the colonization of Barbadoes was begun. Small settlements sprang up on and near Massachusetts Bay. In 1628 John Endicott arrived with sixty men to strengthen the one called Salem. In 1629 a royal charter created a corporation called the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay which was to possess and to govern territories extending from three miles north of the Merrimac southward to the Charles River and from the Atlantic to the western ocean, but was forbidden to take lands 'actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state.' Under this charter the government of the colony was transferred to its own soil. In 1630 Boston was founded. At the same time the Plymouth settlers obtained from the Council for New England a new patent which defined their boundaries, and Gorges and Mason received new titles to portions of the coast at the north, Mason's grant being called New Hampshire. Still farther north the territories of the French came briefly into England's hands.

In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu, determining to build up New France into a more valuable possession, annulled previous grants and handed it over with all rights in government and traffic to a trading company, the Company of New France,

of which he was himself the head. Nevertheless, Sir William Alexander persisted in his efforts to colonize Acadia; in 1629, the two nations being then at war, he obtained letters-of-marque with permission to 'displant the French' in America; and aided by royal influence he sent out a privateering expedition which took possession of Acadia, forced the surrender of Quebec where there were then less than a hundred persons, and brought Champlain home a prisoner. By the time the fleet reached home, however, a treaty had been signed between England and France which stipulated for the restoration of any conquests made after it was concluded. And Charles I thought best to recognize the title of his brother-in-law to Acadia as well as the St. Lawrence region, getting in return a pledge that the French would not disturb the New England settlements and, what he valued more, a promise of the unpaid half of the dowry of his queen.

This Treaty of St. Germain, signed in 1632, was the first international compact relating to definite areas of New World soil. The settlers on Manhattan can have taken little interest in it. But if Charles had held on to the easily effected conquests of 1629 New York would have been spared a hundred and thirty years of constant anxiety and danger, several decades of actual or imminent conflict, and the active share it was forced to take in that great Seven Years' War which finally thrust the French power from Canada.

In October, 1630, shortly after John Winthrop and his associates settled at Boston, his brother-in-law, Emanuel Downing, wrote him from England that if the things were true which were reported of Hudson's River by Isaac Allerton, then visiting England on behalf of the Plymouth Colony, certainly

> . . . there is no place comparable to it for a plantation, and 'twill quit cost for you to remove thither though all be lost in the place where you are, . . . for he saith that Hudson's River goes into Canada and those two make New England an island.

This meant that Hudson's River was an admirable place for trading in furs. Other Englishmen also had their eyes turned toward the same tempting region. In 1632 Gorges wrote to Mason that he hoped to induce the king to sanction the displanting of the New Netherlanders, and Mason complained to the secretary of state that these Hollanders had fallen 'as interlopers . . . into the middle' between Virginia and New England, were fortifying themselves there 'under a pretended authority from the West India Company of Holland,' and had published a map of the coast 'under the title of New Netherlands,' naming 'the country and river of Manahata' for their Prince of Orange and

> . . . giving other Dutch names to other places which had been formerly discovered and traded unto divers times by several Englishmen, as may be proved.

This was the letter in which, as has been told, Mason explained how Samuel Argall had been deterred from settling on 'the Manahata River' in 1621. It also speaks of the profitable beaver trade of the Dutch, of their great ship *New Netherland*, and, incorrectly, of the warning spoken by Governor Bradford to Governor Minuit, saying that Minuit's people 'with proud and contumacious answers' had declared that they held a commission to fight against any disturbers of their settlements.

In the same year Edward Winslow of Plymouth, then acting as agent for that colony and for Massachusetts, presented to the king's privy council a petition describing the contentions of the New Englanders with the Dutch and with the French who were interfering with them on the coast of Maine, and asking among other privileges for a 'free commission for displanting' these dangerous rivals. Thus were justified the fears that Isaac De Rasières had expressed in regard to the people of New Plymouth.

It was at this time, early in April, 1632, that the *Eendraght* was forced into the harbor of old Plymouth. Upon suit of the Council for New England it was seized for trading unlaw-

fully in countries under the king of England's jurisdiction. The States General sent to their ambassadors a copy of the charter they had given the United New Netherland Company in 1614, and an explanatory statement prepared by the West India Company which affirmed that the English themselves had drawn for New England and Virginia such boundaries

> . . . that our boundaries, according to their own showing, should be from the thirty-ninth to the forty-first degree, within which bounds we are not aware that they ever undertook any plantation.

Basing upon these papers a remonstrance to Charles I, the ambassadors explained that the Dutch had bought the island called Manathans from the savages, and in coming and going from their fatherland had 'freely enjoyed . . . without any objections' the hospitality of English ports. In reply the English government denied that the Indians were '*possessores bonæ fidei* of those countries so as to be able to dispose of them either by sale or donation,' holding the land only in common and having no settled residences. It declared that no proof could be brought that all the natives of the said country had contracted with the Hollanders 'at the said pretended sale.' It rehearsed the claim of England to the North American coast as based upon discovery, occupation, and possession and upon charters such as the States General had never bestowed. It said that the New Netherlanders might remain where they were only if they would acknowledge their subjection to the king of England. And it affirmed that in 1621 the States General had denied all responsibility for the 'companies of Amsterdam merchants' who were trading in Hudson's Great River. This assertion the West India Company contradicted. Nor does any evidence exist to support it. In 1621, it will be remembered, the States General had merely said that they knew of no Dutch plantations in America that infringed English rights.

None the less the States General had placed New Netherland, and were now leaving it, in an ambiguous position.

Tacitly they were claiming it as the property of the Republic. Actually and distinctly they were not doing so, and had never done so except by erecting it into a province with the right to a coat of arms. They had permitted the West India Company to acquire it but had given no patent for it, had not defined its boundaries, had not guaranteed its safe possession. They thought, beyond a doubt, that in this way they could hold it with the minimum of risk. Still at war with Spain, the Republic could dare no step that might embroil it with England.

After a long delay the *Eendraght* was released but 'saving and without prejudice to his Majesty's rights' to the disputed territory. If the Dutch, they were told, chose to remain in New Netherland without his Majesty's license they might 'impute it to themselves if hereafter they suffered.'

The States General, said the West India Company at this time, ought to maintain their own sovereignty, the freedom of the seas, and the validity of treaties made by their subjects with the 'unsubjugated' tribes of North America. It also loudly lamented its lack of the profits it had hoped to get from the colony it was spending so much money to maintain. On the other hand, as the letters of their first clergyman make clear, its colonists complained that the Company did not keep its pledges and expected them to maintain themselves too soon. Where the many good things for the support of life, Michaelius wrote, were in an uncultivated and wild state it was necessary that there should be better regulations and that people who had 'the knowledge and the implements for gathering things in their season should collect them together.' Instead, as the people themselves explained a few years later, the Company flung a lot of hare-brained folk into Manhattan to be their guides and rulers, wanted to fill the land not with independent settlers but with its own servants, and tried to reap profits before they could rightly be expected. In consequence, its people tried in legal and illegal ways to evade its trading restrictions and soon began to desire lands of their own. Plainly, the Hollanders' attempt at colonization did not promise well.

It should be understood, however, that in attempting colonization at all the Hollanders had set themselves a task which, difficult even to-day, was wholly novel then, and that they had gone about it in much the same way as the French and the English.

It was an age of monopolistic efforts, personal, corporate, and national, domestic and colonial. It was an age when it was held as a fundamental tenet of government that trade should be so regulated that the state as such should profit as greatly as possible, yet an age when governments, however powerful in seeming, were weak compared with those of to-day and precariously supplied with funds. Spain and Portugal, getting great stores of specie from America, kept foreign trade in the hands of the government itself. Elsewhere governments deputed the work. But individuals could not undertake it. Although capital had begun to grow abundant in private hands during the early years of the century, few persons could father enterprises involving great outlays and great risks. Therefore large mercantile schemes, including those in which colonization figured, were undertaken by corporations with the sanction of government and the promise of more or less valuable monopolies and, in certain cases, of support with force if needed. In England, in France, and in Holland the government was besieged with demands for distant territories, for subsidies, and for trading privileges intended to be used exclusively for the benefit of some sort of a company. Of course the appetite of those whom opportunity favored grew by what it fed upon. It could not be expected that a company obliged to arm its merchant vessels, to protect them often with ships of war, and to maintain strong posts with garrisons and factors in uncivilized and hostile lands, would permit rivals to profit by its costly precautions. And when it was understood, first by the Dutch but soon by all others excepting the Spaniards, that colonies could be made useful as markets for home products, then to governments and to corporations the reasons for monopolistic strictness seemed doubly strong.

Expediency, not any broad and settled policy, guided the commercial practices of the Dutch. Thriving at home upon liberal trade regulations, in the East Indies they became the fiercest of monopolists, in North America monopolists of a less ruthless sort. What the West India Company here effected was only what its neighbors at the north and the south did or tried to do. The record of New France is a long list of monopolistic experiments. The story of the founding of Virginia and New England is a tangled tale of rival monopolists crying out against infringements of their privileges and against the granting of privilege to others, while a strenuous battle against monopolies of all sorts chiefly engaged the attention of the parliaments of James I. In this parliamentary struggle, however, colonial enterprises, still new and relatively few, were of minor moment. It was the course of the crown in regard to monopolies within the kingdom itself that provoked the famous Statute of Monopolies of 1624 and in after years formed a main reason for the revolt against Charles I.

Jamestown and Plymouth were sustained for a time by stock companies of merchants to whom their profits were pledged. Massachusetts Bay was founded as a colony of a similar kind; the name preserved by its assembly, the 'general court,' shows that this was merely the governing body of the company formed in England transplanted to the colony itself. Self-government was nowhere contemplated at the first. The early governors of Virginia were even more autocratic than Peter Minuit, appointing their own councillors. 'Assisted emigration' played a large part in the settlement of the southern colonies; and Lord Baltimore, who obtained his patent for Maryland in 1632, advertised like the West India Company for emigrants to go out under contract. The real difference between the English colonies and the Dutch was that in New England and Virginia the first arrangements were quickly changed when they proved economically undesirable while in New Netherland, although they were greatly modified in the course of years, they were never abolished.

One reason for this was the fact that the West India Company, unlike the English companies, had no rivals. Its sole right to adventure in America was never impaired, and was not even seriously questioned in Holland until the Company itself was at the point of death and the English were about to seize its province. Another reason may be read in the difference in number and in kind between the settlers in New Netherland and New England. Men were not leaving Holland in large numbers, as they were leaving England, because of religious or political discontent or, in spite of the testimony of Baudartius, for lack of industrial opportunities. Those that emigrated at this period were recruited and sent out for the sake of the service they might render to the Company or its patroons, and few could be found who were willing to go. In 1629, just at the time when wonderful waves of willing immigration began to sweep into Massachusetts Bay, the West India Company wrote in a *Remonstrance* against a proposed truce with Spain:

> Moreover, the colonizing of such wild and uncultivated countries demands more inhabitants than we can well supply, not so much through lack of population, in which our provinces abound, as from the fact that all who are inclined to do any sort of work here procure enough to eat without any trouble and are therefore unwilling to go far from home on an uncertainty.

No trouble, distance, or uncertainty seemed deterrent to English Puritans in the years when Charles I was ruling without a parliament. In throngs they flocked to New England — two thousand during the twelvemonth when Winthrop and Dudley came, twelve thousand within half a score of years. They were permitted to assume the government of their colony, many of them were men of substance, a great civil war soon distracted the attention of their motherland, and so they were able to erect in the New World a new commonwealth free for a long time from the control of parliament and crown. Meanwhile the West India Company was trying to people its province from a land where men were free and content; and to

this land every dissatisfied settler was eager to return. Therefore New Netherland grew very slowly and was only just gaining strength enough to throw off the last of the Company's swaddling-bands when it was seized for the king of England.

If even from its own self-seeking point of view the Company did not deal wisely with New Netherland, for this fact also there are visible reasons. It was always hampered by the strife in Holland between the two great political parties one of which was from first to last its avowed enemy. Its constitution, resembling that of the Republic itself, stood in the way of energetic action upon debatable points, for although each of its five chambers was charged with special responsibilities none of them could do much without the indorsement of the Assembly of the XIX, and this executive body could do little without the consent of all the chambers. Moreover, the affairs of New Netherland seemed for many years of comparative unimportance on the long list of those with which the Company had to deal.

To show why they seemed unimportant it suffices to contrast the cargoes that were coming from River Mauritius with the sumptuous freights pouring in from South American, West Indian, and West African seas and shores. In 1624, for example, the Company reported to the States General:

> Two ships have arrived from the coast of Guinea bringing, in addition to their freight of 627 pounds of gold, 1840 elephants' teeth, and 330 tons of pepper, news that the General there hath made an alliance and treaty with the Kings of Sabou and Ancora not to trade with anyone except with those of the Company, and that he is engaged in a like negotiation with a third King. And . . . four ships have arrived from the Bay of All Saints, bringing the Viceroy and his son and the Jesuits prisoners.

Five years later four thousand cases of indigo, three thousand chests of sugar, and thirty-six thousand rawhides were brought home within a twelvemonth,

> . . . as also the handsomest lot of cochineal that was ever brought into this country . . . a considerable quantity of tobacco which is

now an important article of commerce; and finally a vast amount of wealth in all sorts of precious stones, silks and silk goods, musk, amber, all sorts of drugs, Brazil and log-wood, and other wares too numerous to mention here.

Richer even than this was the booty brought home in 1627 by Admiral Pieter Heyn who captured near Havana the 'plate fleet' that was annually sent to Spain — nineteen ships laden with a hundred and forty thousand pounds of pure silver and other precious wares valued in all at 12,000,000 guilders, 'so great a treasure that never did any fleet bring such a prize into this or any other country.'

Barbarian kings, captured viceroys, ivory tusks by the thousand, gold by the hundredweight, silver by the ton, silk and perfumes, amber and jewels — it reads like a grand fairy tale from which we drop back to a very poor and prosaic bit of mother-earth when we think of Manhattan with its hamlet of bark huts and its bales of beaver skins. And this tale meant to the Hollander much more than fairylike riches. It meant the achievement of the task for which the Company had been created. It meant wealth and glory gained at the expense of the hated Spaniard, revenge for generations of oppression and half a century of pitiless war. To many eyes it meant the safety of the young Republic. Listen once more to the proud words spoken by the Company in 1629 when it was explaining that another truce with Spain would work its own 'utter ruin and desolation':

We have moreover captured some even of the King of Spain's galleons, hitherto considered invincible, besides some other of his men-of-war, exclusive of more than two hundred ships and barks which we have taken from his subjects and partly appropriated to our own use and partly destroyed. Our fleets also reduced and for a time kept possession of the rich and mighty city of San Salvador in Brazil, sacked Porto Rico, pointed out the way to seize its enclosed harbor, and destroyed the castle of Margrita. By all which acts have we not only drained the King of Spain's treasury but also further pursued him at considerable expense. We say, exhausted his treasury . . . by depriving him of so much silver which was as blood from the arteries of his heart.

Here, in the reference to the sacking of Porto Rico, we learn how the church bells were got that rang in New Amsterdam. Not all the successful raids of the West India Company meant sustained possession, but by 1630 it had taken from the Portuguese (which meant from the king of Spain) a great part of Brazil; it had secured territories in Guiana, several towns on the Mexican Gulf, and some of the lesser West Indies; and within a few years it was to grasp the last remnants of Portuguese dominion on the Gold Coast of Africa.

At the north few prizes and no rich conquests could be hoped for, no injury could be inflicted upon Spain. Nor in regard to peaceful traffic could the unimaginative look ahead except in the light of past and present facts; and judging by these they naturally ranked the promise of New Netherland far below that of the Company's other possessions and of the trade factories set by its sister association on East Indian shores. From the northern parts of America Europe had as yet got nothing that it greatly wanted excepting furs and tobacco — only furs and tobacco to set against the gold and silver, the silk, cotton, and dyewoods of southern lands, their coveted articles of art and luxury, their invaluable pepper and spices, and the sugar that was still rare in northern countries. It may be added that even in much later years, when the Dutch had no North American possessions but the English had many, England valued its West Indian islands more than the mainland colonies which sent it only products similar to those of Europe.

If all these facts are understood it does not seem strange that although the West India Company owned scores of vessels it appropriated only two or three for the trade and commerce of New Netherland. It should also be understood that by 1630 the Company was beginning to decline, partly because of its own optimistic extravagance, chiefly because it did not get the national support that had been promised it. Created as a weapon against the king of Spain, it was virtually thrown aside as a sword not needed when its own efforts and the results of the first period of the Thirty Years' War had so

weakened the Spaniard that he was no longer greatly to be feared. The Republic was tired of the long struggle, and although individuals had grown rich the national and the local governments were poor. Had the States General been a paymaster with full powers the Company might have been sustained in spite of the persistent antagonism of the Arminian party. But according to the peculiar constitution of the Republic the States General could force no province to pay its quota of any national obligation, nor could the provincial States force the municipalities whom they represented to consent to such payments.

In 1629 the Company lent the national government 600,000 guilders although it had not yet received the whole of its first subsidy, the one promised by its charter. In 1630 it claimed an additional 600,000 guilders as the compensation promised for special services rendered to the nation, and declared that in places where the quota was not forthcoming it would not distribute its recently declared dividend of 75 per cent. In 1632 it was permitted to send delegates to the provinces to urge the payment of their indebtedness but obtained only the quota of the province of Holland, 57 per cent of the whole. In 1634 when it was granted, in words, a subsidy of 700,000 guilders its decline was already talked about, and even the province of Holland now refused to pay until the other provinces should do so.

None of these facts, however, and no excuses that can be framed for the Company relieve it from the charge of a dull short-sightedness in its management of New Netherland. Its colonists were the sons and foster-sons of a land where in mediæval times there had been vassals but no serfs and where the lords of manors had a limited jurisdiction — a land, nourished to greatness by trade and commerce, which for centuries had possessed rights of local self-government and, after an heroic struggle, had secured national independence and given to civil liberty a broader meaning than was elsewhere understood. The emigrants from this land now found

themselves in a New World of limitless opportunity. They had entered it under tutelage but of their own free will, and this tutelage was not an actual despotism, for the Company was subject to supervision by the government of the fatherland. Wise eyes could see from the beginning that such settlers would not long be satisfied with a system of autocratic administration and close commercial monopoly. A passage in Wassenaer's history, written before the town on Manhattan was founded, says of the first little settlements:

> They have already a prosperous beginning; and the hope is that they will not fall through provided they be zealously sustained. . . . For their increase and prosperous advancement it is highly necessary that those sent out be first of all well provided with the means both of support and defence, and that, being freemen, they be settled there on a free tenure; that all they work for and gain be theirs to dispose of and to sell it according to their pleasure; that whoever is placed over them as their commander act as their father, not as their executioner, leading them with a gentle hand; for whoever rules them as their friend and associate will be beloved by them, as he who will order them as a superior will subvert and nullify everything; yea, they will excite against him the neighboring provinces to which they will fly.

History could not write words much truer than these predictions proved to be. The settlers at Fort Amsterdam were poor and humble but, said Michaelius, they were 'mostly freemen'; that is, they were neither bond-servants nor agricultural laborers accustomed to hire themselves out to others. They felt, if vaguely at first, that one of them had as good a title as another to make what he could of his New World chances, as good a title as the Company itself — that not monopoly but equal rights must be the New World recipe for success. And with clearer eyes they saw that the worst results of the system under which they lived sprang from the mistakes and misdemeanors of their local rulers, and that the appointment of such rulers implied indifference on the part of the Company. Therefore they began at once to complain and to struggle in legal and illegal ways for commercial freedom, and as soon as they could they began to strive for a

share in the local government. Nothing of this did the West India Company foresee; all the liberties and privileges it granted in later years it granted grudgingly; and in 1632, when it first heard definite murmurs of discontent, its only impulse was to tighten its bonds.

When the ship *Eendraght* at last reached Holland Peter Minuit, after an examination lasting several months, was dismissed from the Company's service. Van Remund, sustained in his complaints against his chief, was sent back as secretary for the province. Wouter Van Twiller was appointed director-general and Bastiaen Crol was summoned home.

Van Twiller had been a clerk in the employ of the West India Company. Like Notelman he was a nephew of Van Rensselaer; but this time, the patroon informed Crol, he had had no hand in the appointment. In fact he was astonished at the changes the directors were making, going on the principle that they wanted to bring home almost all their people and to send out a wholly new set. But for his own influence, he said, Notelman also would have been recalled. To Van Twiller he gave a long series of memoranda instructing him how to look after the interests of Rensselaerswyck, and with him he sent out some colonists.

In the spring of 1633 Van Twiller arrived at New Amsterdam in a ship called the *Soutberg* (*Salt Mountain*) and, it appears from Van Rensselaer's replies, wrote his uncle that he had had a 'difficult and perilous' voyage but had escaped the Turks and taken a prize, and that he liked New Netherland and felt well there. The prize was a Spanish bark laden with sugar. With the governor came Van Remund; one Cornelis Van Tienhoven, sent out to be 'bookkeeper of wages,' an office now separated from that of provincial secretary; a clergyman, Domine Everardus Bogardus, sent by the Company to take the place of Michaelius; New Amsterdam's first official schoolmaster, Adam Roelantsen; and one hundred and forty soldiers, the first seen in the province.

The soldiers, undoubtedly, were sent in answer to the

request for aid against the New Englanders that Minuit had spoken after De Rasières' visit to Plymouth; but except as a defence against possibly troublesome Indians and a warning to the New Englanders not to resort to arms they could be of little service, for the States General still strictly forbade the Company to use force against men of any nation with which the Republic was at peace. Domine Michaelius probably returned to Holland at this time; it is possible that he visited New Netherland again before he died, in Holland, in 1646. The prenuptial contract which pledged Jan Vinje's mother and her second husband to send her children to school shows that there was a school of some sort in New Amsterdam even before the arrival of Roelantsen. The one that he set up was a free school, supported by the West India Company, under the supervision of the church, and, to judge by the customs of the fatherland, open to both boys and girls. Although it was interrupted during the Revolution it still exists, still under control of the church established by Domine Michaelius; and until recent years it received girls as well as boys. It is now called the School of the Collegiate Reformed Church in the City of New York. Founded two years before the Boston Latin School it is the oldest school in the United States.

Secretary Van Remund and four others composed the new governor's council. The new bookkeeper, Van Tienhoven, soon proved himself a pest to the colony. It is less easy to pronounce upon the character of Van Twiller. Certainly he is not to be identified with the person who bears his name in Washington Irving's farcical *Knickerbocker History*, a book that has done sorry work in distorting the story of New Amsterdam. Its comic-opera background with groups of foolish, plethoric burghers dozing, boozing, and smoking in comfortable chimney-corners bears, of course, no remotest likeness to the real New Amsterdam of 1633 — to the poor, stinted, struggling little frontier post where, only five years before, even the clergyman suffered hardship. Were Irving's the only pen to flout Van Twiller its jeers and the reproaches they imply might be dismissed unnoticed. Nor need full

credence be given to the charges brought against Van Twiller, as against Minuit, by his subordinates with Van Remund at their head. But testimony of a similar sort, more convincing although possibly exaggerated, remains in a book written by a contemporary, Captain David Pietersen De Vries, and called *Short Historical and Journal Notes of Several Voyages made in the Four Parts of the World.*

Little is known of De Vries himself except what this book tells. Fortunately it is not a short but a long journal and a true sailor's book, frank, explicit, and emphatic. Born at Rochelle of Dutch parents of good social standing De Vries returned with them to Holland when four years old and from his youth up was trained to the sea. His journal tells of six long voyages, on all but the last of which he commanded one or more vessels. The first took him to the Mediterranean for grain and involved him in a brush with Turkish pirates. On the second he brought fish from Newfoundland to the Mediterranean where again he trafficked in grain and again fought the Turks, this time driving off with a crew of thirty men two galleys carrying five or six hundred. After a long dispute with the West India Company regarding a trading voyage that he wanted to make to Canada he entered the service of the king of France. This seems to have embroiled him again with the Company. In 1627, in command of a fleet of seven French vessels, he went to the East Indies on a voyage that lasted three years. Afterwards, between 1632 and 1644, he went three times to New Netherland, remaining there for many months. His journal contains the only extant description written by a Dutch seaman of the coasts and rivers of the province. It is also the only sustained personal narrative written by any one who figured in the affairs of the province. Fortunately it throws its vivid light upon the most dramatic scenes in the early history of New Amsterdam; and as its author reveals himself in its pages he wins interest as the most attractive, sympathetic figure of Manhattan's Dutch days.

Returning from the East Indies, De Vries relates, he engaged as patroon with Godyn, Blommaert, Van Rensselaer, and De Laet in the attempt to colonize Swanendael on the South River. In 1632, when the destruction of the settlement was known, he went out himself with a ship and a yacht — the first patroon, he remarks, who visited America. At Swanendael he pacified the savages and, leaving his ship to engage in whale-fishing, went in his yacht down to Virginia to get provisions which he thought he might not be able to obtain at New Amsterdam. Passing the places he called Point Comfort and 'Newport Snuw,' at Jamestown he was cordially received by the governor, Sir John Harvey, but when he told whence he came was informed that the bay of the South River was rightly Lord Delaware's Bay and the property of the English king 'and not New Netherland.' The Dutch had had a fort there, De Vries explained, and for ten years no Englishman had been seen there. Finally Harvey said that 'there was land enough — we should be good neighbors,' and that the Dutch were in no danger if the people of New England did not come too near but 'dwelt at a distance'; and when De Vries left he gave him some goats and a ram as a present for the governor at New Amsterdam.

Returning to the Delaware and sailing with both his vessels for New Amsterdam, on April 16, 1633, De Vries entered the harbor where he found the *Soutberg* which had brought 'the new governor, Wouter Van Twiller.' At once he had occasion to find fault with this personage.

Two days after his arrival there came from New England an English ship, called the *William*, intending to traffic with the Indians on Hudson's River. As supercargo it carried a Dutchman, the same Jacob Eelkins whom, years before, his Dutch employers had dismissed because of his treatment of the natives on the Fresh River. Now, says De Vries, despite his acquaintance with the country the West India Company would not employ him, rather 'seeking out an unfit person like this governor whom they had transferred from a clerkship to a governorship to perform a farce.' In-

vited by Eelkins, Van Twiller went on board the *William* with De Vries and with some of his officials who got drunk and disorderly, making the Englishmen marvel that a governor should have no more control over them. After lying for a few days in the harbor the Englishmen declared their wish to go up the river which, they said, was theirs. This the Dutchmen denied, giving their proofs. Van Twiller, as Eelkins afterwards related in England, ordered the whole ship's company on shore, and in their presence ran up the flag of the Prince of Orange and had three guns fired in his honor, whereupon Eelkins sent the gunner to the ship to hoist the flag of the king of England and in his honor to fire three guns. Then the *William* sailed up the river to Fort Orange — the first English ship to enter the Hudson. As it departed, says De Vries:

> Wouter Van Twiller assembled all his forces before his door, had a cask of wine brought out, filled a bumper, and cried out for those who loved the Prince of Orange and him to do the same as he did and protect him from the outrage of the Englishman. . . .

The people laughed, said that they and the Englishmen were friends, and willingly drank the governor's wine. He had committed a great folly, De Vries informed him; the Englishman had no commission to come to New Netherland but merely a custom-house permit to carry passengers to New England. If it had been De Vries's own affair, he added,

> I would have helped him away from the fort with *beans* from the eight-pounders and not permitted him to sail up the river — I would rather have held him back by the tail as he said he was a man from England. I told him that as the English committed some excesses against us in the East Indies we should take hold of them; that I had no good opinion of that nation for they were of so proud a nature that they thought everything belonged to them; were it an affair of mine I would send the ship *Soutberg* after him and make him haul down the river. . . .

The captain was too truculent; it would have been folly to attack an English ship when the orders to keep the peace with

friendly nations were so clear and strict. More wisely, Van Twiller sent the former governor, Bastiaen Crol, with one or more small vessels up the river in pursuit of the Englishman. Crol's testimony, given when he was examined in Holland a year later, differs in details from that given by Eelkins and his companions at about the same time in England, but there is no divergence in regard to the main facts. The Dutchmen did not attack or plunder the interlopers but pulled down the tent they had set up on the beach near Fort Orange as a place for traffic with the Indians, sent their goods, including some four hundred beaver skins, on board the *William*, boarded it themselves, hoisted the anchor, and started the ship down the river under convoy of a Dutch hoy. Before this happened, say the English affidavits, the director at Fort Orange, Honthum, and some of his people captured a shallop that belonged to the strangers, ornamented it with 'green boughs' and came to the tent, sounding a trumpet and making very merry with 'a bottle of strong waters of three or four pints.'

Peaceably the *William* was allowed to set sail for England. When its experiences were made known there its owners presented to the Dutch ambassadors a claim for damages against the West India Company. By rights, said the Company, it should get damages from the English trespassers on its domain, and the States General ought to try at once to have the boundaries marked out between New Netherland and New England. The States General preferred that the matter should 'take its own course.' No damages were paid, there was no attempt to settle boundary lines. Again the New Netherlanders were left to take care of themselves; and diplomacy, which would do nothing for them in Europe, was the only arm of defence permitted them in America.

Although interesting as the first attempt of Englishmen to get a footing on Hudson's River the affair of the *William* was a mere episode of no historic importance. Very different in its immediate result and in its lasting consequences was the

first attempt of the New Englanders to get a footing on the Connecticut River.

In his history of Plymouth Governor Bradford says that when Minuit's envoys visited his people in 1627 and saw them 'seated in a barren quarter' they told them of the Fresh River,

> . . . which they commended unto them for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it, but their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass.

If this invitation was given it was the friendly utterance of some irresponsible individual; the letters of Minuit and De Rasières show that they knew nothing of it and would not have indorsed it. In mentioning it Bradford does not say or hint that his people or any other Englishmen had then made any claim to the river or had even visited it. By the year 1633, he continues, the Dutchmen began 'to repent' of the invitation of 1627, endeavored to 'prevent' the Plymouth men, and, getting into the river 'a little before them,' set up a small fort and planted two pieces of cannon. In reality the Plymouth men made no effort to acquire lands in the Connecticut Valley until they knew that the Dutch had done so.

As soon as Van Twiller took office his agents completed by formal purchase Crol's bargains with the Indians there, finished Fort Good Hope, and mounted two guns for its defence. The Pequots, a tribe whose seat was between the Pequot River (the Thames) and the Connecticut but who had recently conquered the savages dominant in the Connecticut Valley, made the sales to the Dutchmen with the consent of the chief sachem of the dispossessed Indians. By this time Winslow, then the governor at Plymouth, had visited the river and selected a good place for a trading post, and his people, as Bradford tells, had tried with small success to traffic along its banks, urged to do so by some of the savages who had been driven away 'by the potency of the Pequots which usurped upon them.' In 1633 a pinnace from Plymouth chancing to

be at Manhattan brought back word that the Hollanders had formally taken possession of the river where they had been trading for many years. Winslow then hurried with Bradford to Boston and suggested to Governor Winthrop that the two colonies should join in trafficking on the river and should erect a house there 'to prevent the Dutch.' The dispossessed Indians had also approached the Massachusetts authorities, 'for their end was to be restored to their country again,' and Winthrop had found their offers tempting. The Dutch on the 'River Quonektacut,' he recorded in his history of New England, got yearly 'about ten thousand beaver skins' which might be 'diverted' if the English should 'settle a course of trade' farther up the river. But his people, who had then been only two years in America, did not yet feel equal to an enterprise which he thought would be dangerous, and he himself was not sure that their patent entitled them to undertake it; so with his approval the Plymouth people adventured alone.

Yet, thinking best to assert English rights, Winthrop sent the new bark *Blessing of the Bay* to Manhattan, to inform Governor 'Gwalter van Twilly' that as the king of England had granted the 'river and country of Connecticut' to his own subjects the Dutch should forbear building there. His messengers were 'very kindly entertained' but in a 'very courteous and respectful letter' Van Twiller told him that the States General had granted the same parts to the West India Company and begged that the New Englanders would 'forbear the same' until the matter should be decided in Europe. The Dutch documents show that Van Twiller added that the powers at home ought to agree 'concerning the limits and partings of these quarters' and that their colonists ought to live as good neighbors in 'these heathenish countries' where were 'divers heathen lands that are empty of inhabitants so that of a little part or portion thereof there needs not any question.'

Meanwhile the Plymouth men made their move. As the Dutchmen threatened to bar their passage, says Bradford,

. . . they having made a small frame of a house ready, and having a great new bark, they stowed their frame in her hold and boards to cover and finish it, having nails and all other provisions fitting for their use. This they did rather that they might have present defence against the Indians who were much offended that they brought home and restored the right Sachem of the place . . . so as they were to encounter a double danger in this attempt, both the Dutch and the Indians. When they came up the river the Dutch demanded what they intended and whither they would go; they answered, up the river to trade (now their order was to go and seat above them).

The Hollanders bade them strike their flag and stop. They replied that they would not molest the Hollanders but, no matter what these might attempt, would obey the orders of their governor at Plymouth:

So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them hard yet they shot not. Coming to their place, they clapt up their house quickly and landed their provisions and left the company appointed and sent the bark home; and afterwards palisadoed their house about, and fortified themselves better.

Winthrop tells the same story more briefly:

The company of Plymouth sent a bark to Connecticut, at this time, to erect a trading house there. When they came they found the Dutch had built there, and did forbid the Plymouth men to proceed; but they set up their house notwithstanding, about a mile above the Dutch.

When Van Twiller heard, he ordered his commissary at Fort Good Hope to serve a formal protest on the English commander, notifying him to depart; and 'some while afterwards,' says Bradford, he

. . . sent a band of about seventy men in warlike manner with colors flying to assault them; but seeing them strengthened and that it would cost blood they came to a parley and returned in peace.

Van Twiller had contemplated no assault, for in reply to a prayer for permission to expel the intruding Englishmen

the West India Company had merely reiterated the old command to keep the peace. Friendly traffic between Dutch and English continued at Manhattan. Of the year 1634 Winthrop wrote:

> Our neighbors at Plymouth and we had oft traded with the Dutch on Hudson's River . . . we had from them about forty sheep, and beaver, and brass pieces, and sugar etc. for sack, strong waters, linen cloth, and other commodities.

Soon Winthrop's people followed the people of Plymouth with stronger strides. Now it was the Pequots who invited them. In giving the deed to the Dutch for the lands around Fort Good Hope the Pequots had agreed to Van Twiller's stipulation that the tract should be neutral ground where red men of all tribes might come to trade and none should molest another. But they had broken the pact, killing some of their rivals within the Dutch limits, and they had also slain one Stone, a skipper from Virginia, and his company while coming up the river to trade with the Dutchmen. The Dutch commissary executed some of the murderers. The Pequots then turned to the English as possible allies against the Dutch as well as against their principal red enemies, the Narragansetts; and in the autumn of 1634 their emissaries signed at Boston a treaty promising to surrender the remaining murderers of Stone's party and to give Winthrop's people 'all their trade.'

In the spring of 1635 the general court of Massachusetts permitted groups of families in Watertown and in Dorchester to remove elsewhere provided they did not go out of its jurisdiction. After hard overland journeys the Watertown people settled on the Connecticut where the town of Wethersfield grew up, and the Dorchester people close to the Plymouth trading house, founding the town of Windsor. In 1636 came the whole town of Newtown (from the spot now called Cambridge) led by its pastor, Thomas Hooker; and, instead of seeking an unoccupied tract, this party sat down 'a short gunshot' from Fort Good Hope on lands that the Hollanders

had bought. Thus Hartford was founded, and soon its inhabitants were sowing and reaping almost at the gates of the Dutchmen's fort. In the same year a small company from Roxbury established themselves farther up the river at Agawam, afterwards called Springfield, at the intersection of the two important Indian trails which, when the white men had learned to use them, were known as the Valley Trail and the Bay Path.

In the meantime the younger John Winthrop, son of the governor, had come in 1635 from England to Boston with a commission from Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others to be 'governor of the River Connecticut' for a term of one year. From Boston he sent some twenty men under Lion Gardiner, a Scotch soldier, to build a fort on the Dutchmen's tract, Kievit's Hoek, at the mouth of the river. Driving off a party of New Netherlanders whom, just too late, Van Twiller had sent to occupy the place, Gardiner's party tore down the arms of the Republic from the tree where they had hung for three years and insulted them, said the Dutchmen, by putting 'a ridiculous face' in their stead. Saybrook sprang from this beginning.

There was much excuse for the New Englanders who thus pushed westward from their barren quarter into the rich valley that the Dutch had claimed. There was much for the New Netherlanders who bitterly resented the invasion. As firmly as Englishmen they believed in the right of their nation to regions which they had first seen, explored, named, opened to trade, and inhabited. They thought that the good rule laid down by Elizabeth for the checking of Spain and approved by James and by parliament ought to work both ways — *præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat.* And they felt that insult was heaped upon injury when the New Englanders made a practice of calling them 'intruders' and saying that they 'encroached' where they were merely trying to hold what they had been the first to find. There was much reason why they should feel that Captain De Vries spoke the truth

when he said, after visiting the Connecticut settlements, that the New Englanders believed that

> . . . they are Israelites, and that we at our plantation are Egyptians, and that the English in Virginia are also Egyptians.

In regard to the Plymouth men the Dutchmen had peculiar cause to feel aggrieved. Half a dozen of them, including Bradford himself, had been admitted freemen of the city of Leyden with the same rights and obligations as the native-born. More among them than those who came on the *Mayflower* in 1620 had found refuge from persecution and distress in Holland, and some of them had Dutch wives or children born on Dutch soil. In fact, as the commissioners noted who were sent in 1664 by Charles II to investigate the condition of New England, even in the second generation the Plymouth people were called 'mongrel Dutch' by their neighbors. The deep gratitude they had often expressed for their welcome in Holland Governor Bradford had emphasized in the first of his letters to Governor Minuit, writing of

> . . . the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day . . . for which we are bound to be thankful and our children after us, and shall never forget the same but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever.

This, says Bancroft, was the 'benediction of Plymouth on New Amsterdam.' This, however, was the whole of it — a few fair words immediately qualified. 'But,' the letter continues, Minuit and his people would 'please to understand' that they had no right to their plantation, though doubtless they could get a title through the powers in Europe, and that they must not come to trade where they had been trading for years before Plymouth was founded. Bradford seems to have felt a touch of compunction when afterwards he added to his account of his people's entrance into the Connecticut River that they

. . . did the Dutch no wrong for they took not a foot of any land they bought but went to the place above them and bought that tract of land which belonged to those Indians which they carried with them and their friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do.

The context as already quoted shows that Bradford and his people knew very well that the Dutchmen did not see things in this light.

Some of the Massachusetts men likewise owed personal debts of gratitude to the Dutch, notably Thomas Hooker who chose to settle upon the very lands of Fort Good Hope. Nor were he and his fellows unaware that they would thus give offence. One of the reasons he mentioned for wishing to move westward was the danger that the fruitful Connecticut Valley would be 'possessed by other Dutch and English'; and one of the arguments advanced by the general court of Massachusetts to dissuade him was that his party would be exposed to 'evident peril' from the Dutch who claimed the river and had 'already built a fort there.'

It would also, said the general court, be exposed to danger from the resentment of the English government which had given no one permission to settle in the valley. In truth, none of the English parties that chose lands below the Massachusetts line had any title to them except by virtue of the general claim of the crown of England to the greater part of the continent and of purchase from Indians who denied that they had assented to the antecedent purchases of the Dutch. In the eyes of the English crown they were simply squatters. Soon they all said that they held under a grant given by the Earl of Warwick, president of the Council for New England, to Lord Say and Sele and his associates — the grant under which Saybrook was planted on the Dutchmen's tract at the mouth of the river. But they never were able to produce any document supporting this assertion; Warwick's right to make the grant to Say and Sele cannot now be proved by any existing evidence; and at the time it was not recognized by the Council for New England which in 1635 gave the territory between Narragansett Bay and the Connecticut to

another patentee. Moreover, none of the settlers excepting those at Saybrook thought of the Warwick grant when they established themselves, and only those at Saybrook ever bought any lands of Say and Sele's agent. This *quasi* claim, however, based upon the Warwick grant, which therefore came to be called 'the Old Patent for Connecticut,' was the only title that any of the settlers below Springfield had to their lands until Connecticut Colony obtained a charter from Charles II in 1662.

From other quarters vaguer dangers threatened Van Twiller's province. Lord Baltimore's patent for Maryland, saying that its northern border touched New England, ignored the existence of New Netherland, and so, more distinctly, did two other patents that were bestowed upon British subjects.

In 1632 Sir Edmund Plowden and eight associates petitioned King Charles, explaining that there was a 'remote place within the confines of Virginia' about a hundred and fifty miles north of Jamestown 'and a convenient isle there to be inhabited called Manatie or Long Isle . . . not formerly granted,' and that they were willing to settle there three hundred persons to fish, to make wine, salt, and iron, and to raise corn and cattle, wherefor they asked for a patent under the seal of Ireland to cover the said island and 'thirty miles square of the coast adjoining.' Of the Dutch colony this petition said nothing. But preserved with it is a paper entitled *The Commodities of the Island Called Manati or Long Isle Within the Continent of Virginia* — seemingly, with the exception of Hudson's journal and Juet's log-book, the first description written in English of any part of what is now the State of New York. And this paper, lauding the fertility, the climate, and the trading possibilities of the island, evidently with reference to its eastern parts, declares that there would be good hope of gain if friendly intercourse could be maintained with the savages and with Virginia on the south, New England on the north, and 'the Dutch plantation 60

miles on the west' where, says another paragraph, there were 'two Dutch forts.' It was in answer to the petition thus reënforced that in 1634 Sir Edmund Plowden and his associates got from the viceroy of Ireland the grant of the province of 'county palatine' called New Albion, now best remembered in connection with the baseless story of Samuel Argall's visit to Manhattan — a province that was to embrace 'Manatie or Long Island,' the adjacent 'Hudson's or Hudson's River isles' including, of course, the true Manhattan, and a mainland tract forty leagues square extending down to the coast to Cape May. At about the same time Charles I, who had given back Canada and Acadia to the French in 1632 but declared in 1633 that he had not thereby abandoned his right to Acadia, confirmed the privileges of Sir William Alexander, now known as Earl of Stirling and Viscount Canada; and early in 1635 the Council for New England bestowed upon him a great part of Maine and, ignoring Plowden's grant, 'the Island of Matowack or Long Island' to which it gave a new name, the Isle of Stirling.

It was fortunate for New Netherland that Charles and his counsellors were growing more and more distrustful of the independent and heterodox attitude assumed by the New Englanders at a time when disaffection was rife in the kingdom itself. As people of 'refractory humors' they were denied the favors asked by their agent Edward Winslow, including the permission to displant their French and Dutch neighbors. This was partly due to the influence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges who had always hoped to see all the New England settlements united under his own control. Now in a petition to the king he said that, although the agents of Plymouth 'pretended' that the Dutch had entered the Connecticut River without their knowledge, it would be unsafe to give them more authority because they were 'openly disaffected' and, in fact, were seeking 'to fortify themselves by the aid of the Dutch' — an assertion that would have sounded oddly enough to Van Twiller and De Vries. By 1634 the flood of Puritan emigration so alarmed the government that it

detained ten ships bound for America until their passengers took the oath of allegiance and promised to conform to the Prayer-Book. In the same year the king created the first board specially empowered to supervise and regulate the affairs of the colonies, a Commission for Foreign Plantations composed of twelve members of the privy council with Archbishop Laud at their head. In 1635 the Council for New England resigned its charter to the crown, and the charter of Massachusetts Bay was by process of law attacked. That these steps were not followed up, that New England was not then consolidated and, like Virginia, transformed into a royal province, was due in part to the difficulty of serving writs with legal promptness at so great a distance, in part to the disturbed condition of England and Scotland. It is probable that but for the progress in these kingdoms of the rebellion that was to bring Charles I to the scaffold the New Englanders would have lost at this time the liberties of which Charles II and James II deprived them half a century later.

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CHAPTER V

BETTER PROSPECTS

1632–1642

(Governor Van Twiller, Governor Kieft)

Now the main cause of all these differences is the trade in furs or peltries found in that country and the question by whom it shall be conducted. — *Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to the Assembly of the XIX. 1633.*

In the spring of 1633, just after the affair of the ship *William*, Captain De Vries prepared to take his own ship home and to send his yacht 'toward the north by way of Hell Gate.' Van Twiller delayed him, beginning 'again to juggle as if he were drunk,' insisting upon searching the yacht, and when De Vries objected ordering 'the guns at the angles of the fort' to fire upon it. Whereupon, the captain continues,

I ran to where he stood at the angle with the secretary and one or two of his council and told him the land was full of fools; if they wished to shoot anything they should have shot at the Englishman who was violating their river in spite of them.

Then Van Twiller wished to search the ship, for contraband furs of course. When it had got as far as Sandy Hook, Notelman and Van Remund, coming with despatches from Van Twiller for the Company in Holland and seeing a few skins, threatened to send the *Soutberg* in pursuit. And then, says De Vries,

I said to the secretary that we were surprised that the West India Company should send such fools into this country who knew nothing except to drink; that they could not come to be assistants in the

East Indies; and the Company by such management must come to naught. In the East Indies no one was appointed governor unless he had first had long service and was found to be fit for it . . . but the West India Company sent in the first instance as superior officers persons who never had command in their lives, for which reason it must come to naught.

When De Vries reached Amsterdam toward the end of July he soon found that his partners were disputing with the other directors about a few pelts that he had brought back:

On this account our business of making colonies must be suspended in places still uninhabited. . . . As we could not agree with the Company, and my partners at Amsterdam were all directors and were continually at variance with their associates on account of trifles, I separated from them. The rest I will leave unwritten.

Part of 'the rest' was told from another point of view by one of the partners, Van Rensselaer, in a very long letter to his nephew Van Twiller. Writing in April, 1634, he said that 'David Pietersen,' meaning De Vries, was turning out worse — more *slim* is the Dutch expression — than Van Twiller had predicted and was railing 'stoutly' against him. So many other people were also railing against the governor that had it not been for his uncle's influence he would already have been summoned home 'with an affront.' Such a 'shameful pot' had been brewed for him that one could hardly believe men could be found base enough to invent it; and so many knew about it that the selection of another director-general was publicly discussed while the opposite party in the Company was secretly trying to put Isaac De Rasières in the place. Van Remund was working against Van Twiller as he had worked against Minuit, hoping to put on his head the same 'crown of thorns.' He was inciting against him all the directors opposed to colonization, prompting Domine Bogardus to complain of him as he had prompted Domine Michaelius to complain of Minuit, and sending home slanderous stories to his wife who spread them abroad. Crol was likewise bringing charges, saying that Van Twiller would not let him

have his books. In fact, there were so many charges that Van Rensselaer summed them up as a warning to the governor. Those coming 'from the outside' said that he was 'proud and puffed up,' that he was 'inimical to the minister and no defender of religion,' and that he was 'always drunk as long as there is any wine,' a failing which once at least had delayed the despatch of a ship to Holland. The 'inside' charges were that he wrote too seldom to the Company, did not keep his books properly, and lacked prudence and judgment for the discharge of his duties. Therefore his uncle advised him to report more frequently and to forget and forgive past injuries. Furthermore he drew up for him a table of eight duly numbered precepts counselling him to be diligent, faithful, cautious, sober, religious, patient when injured, and trustful in God when chastised. All of which should he do and be, 'a curse will change to blessing and slanders bloom to honor'; and, could he once clear himself of the charges against him, such 'venom' would be impotent to affect him again.

De Vries and Van Rensselaer both earnestly favored colonization although they fell out with each other and although to De Vries the free colonist, to Van Rensselaer the patroon, seemed the best hope of the province. And both found fault with the Company on the same grounds: it wanted premature profits and it thought the only way to get them was to permit no individual to profit by trafficking in furs. After it came into possession of the enormous booty captured by Pieter Heyn from the Spaniards, wrote De Vries at a later day, it bestowed no thought upon its 'best trading post at Fort Orange' but allowed a few persons (meaning the owners of Rensselaerswyck) to take it from the 'greater number' who should have shared with them. On the other hand many persons who would have taken up patroonships were prevented by the quarrelling among the directors; and the directors would do nothing for the settlers already in the province because they coveted 'the profits of all the trade before they are grown.' They

. . . would rather see booty arrive than to speak of their colonies; but had the land been peopled the fruit thereof would have been long continued while their booty has vanished like smoke.

It appears, moreover, that the Company hampered the patroons in all possible ways. Especially it objected to transporting the goods that they needed for barter with the Indians and tried to prevent its colonists from exchanging such goods for the products of Van Rensselaer's farms — not only fearing to lose the fur trade but hoping, probably, to force the patroons to buy from its own warehouses on Manhattan all that their people required. It was also evident, said Van Rensselaer, that many persons wished patroons to found colonies only in order that the Company might send a commissary who 'under the sheltering wings of the patroon's protection' might secure furs and thus deprive him of his just gains.

In spite of these hampering disputes the agents of Michiel Paauw had begun to develop Pavonia and Van Rensselaer had done his utmost to strengthen Rensselaerswyck. By circumstance as well as by exceptional energy Van Rensselaer was better fitted than the other patroons for his difficult task. He had had experience in reclaiming waste lands near his estate in Guelderland, he could draw colonists from this unfruitful neighborhood, and in New Netherland he had the help of his nephews, Van Twiller and Notelman. In his case the Company's charge that the patroons intended nothing but to trade in furs was certainly unfounded. He had as good a right as others to the trade, he explained, but wished to avoid disputes with the Company; and his correspondence shows in every line his determination to develop an agricultural colony. It also shows that there was no limit to the meticulous care he bestowed upon the estate or to his knowledge of its minutest affairs — the site and condition of every farm and house, the character and conduct of every settler, the worth of every individual horse and cow, the disposition that was made of every bushel of grain.

In 1632 he established a judicial system for his colony,

appointing officers called a *schout* and *schepens* who were to administer the law according to the customs of the Republic and especially of the province of Holland. The *schepens* formed the court. The chief duty of the *schout* or sheriff was to see that the patroon's orders were obeyed. It is probable that these first officials never qualified, that the court was not actually set up until 1634. Even so it was the first local court established in the province.

When Minuit returned to Holland he sold to Van Rensselaer the cattle on his farm on Manhattan; so did one of the councillors recalled at the same time; and Van Twiller took over the two farms. One of Van Rensselaer's own colonists, by his direction and with his money, leased another of the Company's bouweries and paid in full for the live stock; and a free colonist engaged to live part of the year at New Amsterdam, part at Rensselaerswyck, and to buy all the cattle offered for sale on Manhattan. Thus the patroon managed to stock his farms, not dishonestly yet in ways that cannot have commended him to any one interested in the progress of the Company's colony on Manhattan. He and his partners, wrote De Vries a little later, had 'helped themselves by the cunning tricks of merchants.' They had put their patroonship in good condition 'at the Company's cost,' for the Company had sent out cattle at great expense and now it had nothing up the river except an empty fort while the patroons had the farms and the trade round about it. By this time Godyn was dead and Van Rensselaer, buying out his heirs, had a controlling three-fifths interest in the patroonship. Blommaert retained his share, and Burgh's soon passed into the hands of three persons one of whom was the historian De Laet.

In 1633, intent upon making New Amsterdam the emporium of trade for the province, the Company formally granted it 'staple-right,' a privilege, enjoyed in Europe by a number of river cities, which meant that all vessels passing the place must discharge their cargoes and pay duties or else pay certain stipulated 'recognitions.'

It was proposed at this time in the Amsterdam Chamber to repeal those articles of the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions which granted the fur trade, under restrictions, to the patroons and promised them the Company's protection. It was to protest against such changes that Van Rensselaer prepared his *Memorial* to the Assembly of the XIX recounting the efforts of the patroons and the damages they and the Company had suffered from the Company's slackness. The Freedoms, he said, must be not only maintained but 'enlarged and improved'; otherwise New Netherland would be wholly lost, for it was already coveted by other nations who had settled near it 'on the east, south, and north.' For its own sake the Company, instead of proceeding 'blindly as heretofore,' must establish the 'fundamental government' which it had promised to set up and be more particular to appoint no 'passionate persons' to office but 'only reasonable men who are in sympathy with the work and understand their business.' The result of its management thus far was that, instead of the sheep being sheared when they had wool,

> . . . they were skinned at birth when they had no wool, and all under pretext that the patroons had no other design than to deprive the Company of the fur trade and charge the expenses to it. . . .

The 'contrary minded,' said Van Rensselaer, thought that the Company should exclude from the trade all patroons, colonists, and others, while the patroons maintained that the trade could be carried on with less expense and more profit to the Company by their servants than by its own. If colonists multiplied, the Company would not have to supply them with food, nor would they be in danger of starving should a supply-ship perish on the way. The fur trade was not concentrated on one river as in Canada but was spread along many rivers and coasts far distant from each other, and the best time to prosecute it was in winter; therefore the Company would need many small vessels if it were to conduct the traffic itself. Colonists with families were more bent upon keeping the peace with the Indians than mere traders. If

there were many settlers they might persuade or compel the Mohawks to do what now they would not do — permit the Canada Indians to pass through their country; and from these Indians more furs could be got than in all New Netherland. But only by supporting its patroons could the Company hope for strong settlements. Poor people by themselves could accomplish nothing in the province and the rich and well-to-do would not go there; but

> . . . just as the blind can carry the crippled and the crippled can point the way to the blind, so the rich could stay at home and send their money while the poor could go and perform their work on the money of the rich.

Sound for the most part, this argument of Van Rensselaer's had two weak points: in a virgin country where land was plentiful 'poor people by themselves' could accomplish much, and in such a country they were not content to work for the rich in Europe.

The Assembly of the XIX sustained the validity of the Charter of Freedoms but could not come to terms with the patroons who thought that they were not bound to obey any of the Company's regulations. They had a right, they said, to the internal as well as the coastwise fur trade wherever the Company had had no commissary at the time the Charter was granted; therefore no commissary should be sent into a patroonship to collect the stipulated duty on skins; and, moreover, the Company should make good the losses they had suffered by its failure to afford them protection. At last it was decided to submit the questions at issue to the States General. After considering the arguments of both parties the States General postponed a decision. The warring factions patched up the dispute themselves and, as the advocates of colonization now got the upper hand in the Amsterdam Chamber, for a time no more obstacles were thrown in the path of the patroons.

Van Twiller kept his place but a doctor of laws, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, was sent out to take Notelman's place as

schout-fiscal. By the ship *Eendraght* on which he sailed in April, 1634, Van Rensselaer sent his long monitory letter to Van Twiller. Van Twiller, he thought, could trust Van Dincklagen who, as he had 'studied,' ought to prove a good adviser, 'for such people can see deeper into a matter than those who have not studied.' By the *Eendraght* Van Rensselaer also sent a stock of merchandise, farm implements, and weapons, and some colonists for whose placing at Rensselaerswyck Van Twiller was to care. The great ship *New Netherland,* he wrote, had been taken by the 'Dunkirkers,' Dunkirk being then a notorious nest of pirates. It was unfortunate, he added, that the English were beginning to get a foothold on the Fresh River. Its advantages were understood at Amsterdam but every one was afraid to venture there.

Meanwhile Van Twiller had been improving the outward aspect of his little town. Fort Amsterdam, which had not yet been finished, he repaired or rebuilt with earthen walls and at least one stone bastion. Inside its walls stood his own house and a guard-house and a barrack for the troops he had brought, and close by two or three windmills. Not far away, probably on the Strand (Pearl Street) between the Broad and Whitehall streets of to-day, the governor built a little wooden church for the congregation which had hitherto worshipped in the loft over the horse-mill, and a house and stable for Domine Bogardus. He also built a new bakery, a house for 'the cooper, the smith, and the corporal,' and another for the midwife — all servants of the Company — and a stable for the goats that the governor of Virginia had sent him. A bridge which has left its name to Bridge Street was thrown across the creek that formed the commercial centre of the town.

Fort Amsterdam, the Company declared in 1634, had cost it 4172 guilders and the province as a whole 412,800, while the patroons declared that they had spent 'not far from one ton of gold cash down' in trying to people and to improve their estates. In 1633 the Company received from its prov-

ince products to the value of 91,375 guilders, in 1635 to the value of 134,925, then getting 14,891 beaver skins and 1413 pelts of other sorts. In 1634 it shipped for sale to the settlers goods to the value of 29,560 guilders, and in 1635 to the value of 28,875.

In 1635 the borders of New Netherland were first threatened at the south. Then the Virginians who, beginning to explore the bay and river they called Delaware, had found the Dutch trading post, Fort Nassau, deserted and empty, sent a certain George Holmes with fourteen or fifteen men to occupy it. Informed of this by one of the party, a runaway bond-servant named Thomas Hall, Van Twiller decided that the intruders must be turned out and the fort reoccupied. A ship which he at once despatched brought the Englishmen to Manhattan. Here Captain De Vries was tarrying again after an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony on the coast of Guiana; as he was about to sail for Virginia, on his ship Van Twiller sent the captives home; and De Vries landed them just in time to prevent the sending of a second party to the Delaware. Thomas Hall, however, remained with the Dutch, the first Englishman who is known to have settled among them. Finding work at first as a farm-hand he soon became and long remained a prosperous, respected, and loyal New Netherlander.

When Van Rensselaer wrote by the *Eendraght* in 1634 he acknowledged the receipt of several letters showing that ships had sailed from Manhattan in March, May, and July of the previous year while later despatches had been sent by way of New England. Communication was not always so frequent. Writing again to his nephew in May, 1635, the patroon said that he had not yet heard of the arrival of the *Eendraght* although a full year had elapsed, and was greatly worried lest it had been wrecked on the outward voyage when it carried his colonists and goods, or on the homeward voyage when 'many returning people' must have gone down with it. The directors were also much alarmed. They did not know

what might be the state of affairs in the province for the governor had not even written by way of Virginia or New England. All work in Holland was 'entirely unsettled' and rumors of misconduct in New Netherland multiplied. The Company had by this time bought out the owners of Swanendael and Pavonia, paying for Pavonia 26,000 guilders; but Van Rensselaer held on to his patroonship and, he wrote, was determined to carry on the work more courageously than ever if, indeed, the colony still lived. The directors were still trying to prevent all private trading in furs, and in general they were taking such a 'strange course' regarding the province that they would soon be forced to resign it to those who might regulate it better, or see everything run to ruin. A year later he wrote:

> If they wish to keep it to themselves with few people, which is most profitable to them, they cannot defend the country, and with many people they suffer loss; and others will not care to populate the country unless they have the free trade.

The Company was complaining much because Van Twiller wrote so seldom, not even mentioning Captain De Vries who had recently sailed from Manhattan.

In 1634 the patroon had sent out one Jacob Planck as commissary for Rensselaerswyck charged with the varied duties of *schout*, steward (*rentmeester*), precentor or reader for the local congregation, and brandy distiller. It was he, most probably, who actually established the local court. Writing to him in 1635 the patroon advised him to get on Manhattan animals and people for Rensselaerswyck as the leases of the Company's farms were expiring and the soil of the island was 'for the most part exhausted' while that of his own colony was 'still fresh.' He and his partners were equipping a ship, called the *Rensselaerswyck*, largely for the service of the patroonship, but as the expense proved great he had admitted Gerrit De Forest to a half share in it 'aside from the goods and people of the colony.' This Gerrit (Gerard) was the brother of Jesse De Forest.

Planck's instructions bade him consult Van Twiller about the affairs of the patroonship; and at a score of points Van Rensselaer's letters show that the governor was supervising the farms on Manhattan of which the patroon now had possession and in other ways was protecting his interests. Van Rensselaer charged him not to neglect his duty to the Company; on one occasion Van Twiller interfered, as Crol had done, with the shipment of cattle from Manhattan while several times his subordinates at Fort Orange confiscated for the Company's benefit grain grown on the farms of the patroon; yet naturally it was said, whether justly or not, that the governor favored his uncle too much. It was also said that he did not keep order in New Amsterdam and on certain convivial occasions, which Captain De Vries describes, was present himself at disorderly scenes. While he fraternized with English skippers who now and then visited the bay he did not report about them to the Company. He left the harbor unwatched at night so that any one could sail up to the fort who chose, as De Vries discovered when he returned from Virginia early in 1636. He did not properly care for the buildings he had put up in his little capital. At Pavonia, at Fort Orange, and on the South River he ordered the erection of others unduly expensive. Although he had a good brick house in the fort he built another for his own use on the Company's Bouwerie No. 1. This farm he cultivated for his own benefit. On the Bossen Bouwerie he started a private tobacco plantation which the Company's negroes tilled. And without the Company's sanction he bestowed upon himself and others lands in various quarters.

The first settlements known to have been made on Long Island date from this time. On June 16, 1636, Van Twiller issued the first recorded patent for land on the island — to Jacobus Van Curler, or Van Corlaer, for the middlemost of three 'flats' lying 'between the bay of the North River and the East River,' a spot afterwards called New Amersfoort and also Flatlands. For the westernmost of the three flats he

soon gave a patent to Andries Hudde who was a member of his council and Wolfert Gerritsen, also called Van Couwenhoven, who had acted as Van Rensselaer's agent on Manhattan; for the most easterly he issued a patent to himself; and in 1637 he took for himself two of the islands in the East River and Nooten (Governor's) Island in the harbor. This last was more valuable for his purposes than may be thought, for Buttermilk Channel, navigable now by large vessels, was then a shallow strait across which cattle could be driven from Long Island.

For the West India Company the governor bought from the Indians certain islands to be used as trading posts near the mouth of the Thames River and in Narragansett Bay. One of those in the bay is still called Dutch Island. To another, Prudence Island, New York did not renounce its claim as the heir of New Netherland until the year 1673. Fisher's Island close to the Connecticut shore it still possesses.

The history of a notable piece of land on Manhattan now begins. In 1636 Van Twiller granted thirty-one *morgens* (about sixty acres), between the Company's Bouwerie No. 1 and the swampy ground farther north where Canal Street was eventually laid out, to Roelof Janssen whom Van Rensselaer had sent with his wife and children to Rensselaerswyck in 1630. The family may have been Swedes, for it is recorded that they came from 'Masterland' and there was a small island called Maesterland off the southwestern coast of Sweden while no place of similar name has been identified in the Low Countries. At Rensselaerswyck Janssen was put in charge of a farm. His name is still borne by a brook that falls into the Hudson from the east. The reason why he moved to Manhattan is not clear. He died soon afterwards; his wife became the second wife of Domine Bogardus; and the farm she inherited was then called the Domine's Bouwerie. United in early English days to the Company's Bouwerie it formed part of the famous tract which, bestowed in the time of Queen Anne upon Trinity Church, in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the subject of repeated and hotly contested actions at law in which Annetje's name conspicuously figured. Therefore she is still well remembered, not as Jufvrouw Bogardus but as Annetje or Anneke Jans. A daughter of the midwife for whom Van Twiller built a house, she was an illiterate person who used a mark or rudely printed letters in signing her name.

Besides his farm on Long Island Jacobus Van Corlaer obtained one on the eastern shoulder of Manhattan where the name Corlaer's Hook survives, and another on the fertile flats, then called Muscoota and afterwards the Harlem Flats, which formed the northeastern corner of the island. This appears to have been the first plantation where the town of Harlem was founded in later years. Close by settled two sons of Jesse De Forest, Henry and Isaac, who made the voyage in the year 1637 on the ship *Rensselaerswyck,* Henry serving as supercargo and mate. In the spring they were joined by their sister and her husband, Jean La Montagne, or De la Montagne, a French physician who in 1621 had set his name to the round-robin presented by Jesse De Forest to the English ambassador at the Hague. The lands of this family included part of the present Mt. Morris Park. Henry De Forest's house is described as 42 feet long, 18 feet broad, and surrounded by a strong palisade, of course for protection against the Indians. He died before the end of the year. From Isaac who soon moved into New Amsterdam, had fourteen children, and lived until 1674 all the American De Forests are descended.

All these settlers on Manhattan held their lands for a time simply by permission of the director-general. No land patents were needed as the whole island had been bought from the Indians for the Company, and no ground briefs were as yet bestowed.

In spite of these signs of activity New Amsterdam was retrograding rather than improving. Trade being closely

fettered and agriculture not properly encouraged, the settler's best resource was illicit traffic with the Indians. Food grew very scarce, partly because there was dearth in Virginia and among the English newcomers in the Connecticut Valley. In 1637, when the crops and the supplies from Holland seem alike to have fallen short, many persons might have perished in New Amsterdam but for the food that the Indians brought in.

Meanwhile the Company was drawing no profits from the province; the furs it received did not cover its outlays. Its employees, it had reason to believe, were cutting down its receipts by smuggling, and certainly they were injuring its prospects by the disputes which year by year grew hotter. Domine Bogardus reproached the governor, even from the pulpit, for his loose ways of life and called him a 'child of the devil, a consummate villain.' Van Dincklagen, the new and learned *schout-fiscal*, far from proving a help to Van Twiller, brought such accusations against him that the governor retorted with counter charges and sent him back to Holland. And the quarrel was triangular, for when Van Dincklagen reached Holland he complained to the church authorities that he had been excommunicated by the 'machinations' of Bogardus and to escape them had had to flee to the wilderness where, lacking all other food, he had subsisted for days together on 'the grass of the field.'

Naturally, the directors at Amsterdam were bewildered by the conflicting complaints. But they were clear in their minds about a grievance of their own: in spite of his uncle's sage counsels Van Twiller did not properly report upon the affairs of his province. It seems to have been chiefly for this reason that he was superseded. In September, 1637, his successor, William Kieft, set sail with two ships for Manhattan.

Writing at this time to his nephew, Van Rensselaer said that he had not heard from him since the departure of the ship of which he was now daily expecting the return, evidently the *Rensselaerswyck* which had brought out the De Forests.

He was looking for Van Twiller's return by the first conveyance so that he might clear himself of the 'unbearable slanders' with which Van Dincklagen and his wife were besmirching and defaming him 'through the whole land before persons great and small, clerical and lay,' so deceiving many that they believed Van Twiller would not dare to come back. Nor was he the only one accused. Van Dincklagen's wife was doing her best to involve the minister, so it was important that he also should return to justify himself. In fact:

> No one is overlooked, great or small, especially those who have been of the council or held any office, so it seems that in that country they are altogether rascals and godless people. . . .

The directors, said Van Rensselaer, were now intending diligently to take in hand the affairs of the province, for by an increase of their capital they had got money which they 'really lacked before.' They were planning 'some freedoms' but delaying until they should get from the new director-general accounts of the condition and opportunities of the country. Van Rensselaer had had several talks with him and had recommended his own colony to his care; and Kieft had accepted the charge 'so far as his oath and commission can allow,' a reservation of which the patroon approved. 'Very discreet commissioners for the affairs of New Netherland' had now taken office and, although they transacted their business secretly, Van Rensselaer hoped that matters would greatly improve.

In 1636 the West India Company had put its South American and West Indian possessions in charge of the ablest and most exalted person it could find, Count John Maurice of Nassau, grandnephew of William the Silent. In 1637 it administered the oath as director-general of New Netherland to a commercial adventurer of bad repute. William Kieft, it was said, had failed as a merchant in France; and when sent to Turkey to redeem Christian captives he had kept some of the ransom money and let the Turks keep some of the

Christians. No estimate of his character or commentary upon his acts as governor has come down to us except from the hand of his enemies, but one reason for this seems to be that he had, and deserved to have, few friends. The course of events shows that he was obstinate, domineering, and cruel; in the end by treating the Indians badly he proved himself the 'executioner' against whom the historian Wassenaer had lodged a prophecy. Not until this time was Wouter Van Twiller's greatest merit as governor appreciated: he always treated the savages well and faithfully kept the compacts he made with them. A plaintive cry sounded on Manhattan when Kieft had been for a few years in office, a cry for help in the desolation he had wrought — a cry from Indian lips for 'Wouter! Wouter!'

Sailing in September, Kieft's vessels wintered at Bermuda and reached New Amsterdam late in March, 1638. To be secretary of the province the Company had promoted its bookkeeper, Cornelis Van Tienhoven. A year later it sent out Cornelis Van der Huyghens as *schout-fiscal.* Ulrich Lupold, who had served in this office since Van Dincklagen's departure, Kieft then made commissary of stores. Councillors the new governor was permitted to choose for himself. He chose only one, the newly arrived Huguenot physician Dr. La Montagne. To him, it was said, Kieft gave one vote, to himself he granted two; and he rarely asked any one else to aid in the deliberations of this peculiar council but governed by edicts which his people thought too severe as well as too autocratic. On the other hand, he did not drink, he was not weak or idle, and although he sometimes lied he spoke the truth when he wrote home just after his arrival that he had entered upon a very arduous task. Van Twiller's new buildings were falling into decay; only one windmill was working; almost all the Company's vessels were worthless; its salaried servants were smuggling; its neglected farms had gone back to the condition of common lands, and their cattle had 'passed into other hands.'

Van Twiller, his uncle soon wrote to Kieft, was 'so taken'

with New Netherland that it would be hard to keep him at home when he returned to clear himself of the charges against him. Perhaps for this reason, perhaps because he was afraid to return, he did not go at once despite another summons from Van Rensselaer. He leased from Kieft the Company's Bouwerie No. 1 and got a grant of a hundred *morgens* near the Bossen Bouwerie; from Jacobus Van Corlaer he leased or bought his 'flat' on Long Island; and through the summer, as the records show, he was diligently trading in cattle and tobacco. Letters of Van Rensselaer's say, however, that by the spring of 1639 he had returned and, showing all his 'books and papers' to the directors, had wholly satisfied them regarding every point upon which they had accused him, while Van Dincklagen and his wife, who had slandered him so shamefully, had received 'such a reply' that in future they would hardly molest the Company or its officials. From various resolutions passed by the States General it appears that Van Dincklagen repeatedly complained to this body about the wrongs the Company had done him, especially by permitting Van Twiller to remove him illegally from office and by refusing to pay him the salary due for three years of service as *fiscal* in New Netherland. Finding his complaints just, several times the States General ordered the Company to satisfy him so that they might be relieved from his 'troublesome but well-founded solicitations.' As late as the year 1642 his demands had not been satisfied, but eventually the Company again promoted him to office in New Netherland. As for Domine Bogardus, when he asked permission of the church authorities 'to depart for Fatherland to defend himself against Lubbert Van Dincklage' they decided that he must remain at his post 'so that the Church of God may increase more and more every day.'

Although Van Twiller did not return to New Netherland he long held his property there, Governor Kieft acting for a time as his agent. After the death of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer he was actively engaged in the management of the patroonship. Nothing is known of the fate of the 'books and papers'

he took to Holland, evidently the official records of his administration. The affidavit, already cited, in which Cornelis Melyn told about the purchase of Staten Island by Governor Minuit, says that he got the information in writing from Van Twiller at Amsterdam in 1640, and that Van Twiller copied it for him from the 'purchase deed or bill of sale'; and to the affidavit is attached a copy of an official memorandum of the sale bearing the same date and the same signatures as the patent, still preserved in this country, which Minuit issued to Michiel Paauw. All this makes it seem at least possible that Van Twiller carried away not only his own official papers but also those covering the administrations of his predecessors, Minuit and Crol, which have likewise disappeared.

Except for the few land patents of earlier days the existing records of New Netherland as we have them now, broken by numerous gaps, begin with Governor Kieft's administration in April, 1638. Council minutes, ordinances, and the register of the secretary of the province, which includes records of court proceedings, are preserved in the archives of the State and calendared in published volumes called *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*. The existing official correspondence of the administrators of the province does not begin until the year 1646.

The earliest extant ordinances consist of rules for improving the morals of the community which Kieft at once caused to be copied out in plain script and affixed to the trees and posts of New Amsterdam. The very first forbade all free persons to trade in furs except as the Charter of Freedoms prescribed, and all employees of the Company from the highest to the lowest to do so in any manner. Some of the others were rules for the conduct of the court, which was to sit every Thursday; curfew regulations for sailors and for the Company's servants; rules against leaving Manhattan without a permit, against selling arms to the savages, against idleness and slackness in working hours, 'rebellion, theft, false swearing, and calumny,' and 'carnal intercourse with heathens,

blacks, or other persons,' and rules for limiting that great promoter of evil, the traffic in strong drink.

According to customs of state supervision which had given Dutch goods a high repute in all quarters of the world the new governor soon issued an ordinance prescribing how tobacco, now a staple product of the province, should be cured, and directing that all intended for export should be brought to the Company's warehouse to be 'examined, marked, and weighed' as well as assessed for the export duty. Such was the beginning in 1638 of a system — or, more accurately, a succession — of local inspection laws which continued until the constitution of 1846 was adopted for the State of New York.

It was impossible now for the government of England to ignore the fact that a Dutch colony was firmly seated between its own northern and southern plantations. In the spring of 1635, when it was trying to wipe out the charter of Massachusetts, it was informed that a Dutch ship bound for New Netherland was lying at Cowes in the hope that by the liberal offers of the West India Company English emigrants might be attracted. Neither in this nor in any other Dutch vessel, the privy council ordered, should British subjects be permitted to go to 'the Hollanders' plantation in Hudson's River'; and in 1637 the king strictly forbade the governor and council of Virginia to trade with their Dutch neighbors. It need not be believed, however, that this prohibition interfered at all with the traffic which De Vries had opened at the time of his first visit to Virginia and Governor Harvey had continued to encourage, or with that which had since sprung up with Lord Baltimore's colony of Maryland.

It was not by the Virginians that, as Kieft reported in the first despatches he sent home, the South River was again invaded. It was by a party of traders and colonists sent from Sweden by a Swedish-Dutch association in which the leading spirits were two persons long connected with the Dutch West India Company — Samuel Blommaert who from the first

had been one of its most influential members, and Peter Minuit whom it had recently dismissed from its service. The declared purpose of this association was to plant colonies on such parts of the North American coast as the English, French, and Dutch had not yet occupied, but the first objective point was the South River where Swanendael, in which Blommaert was interested, had so quickly perished and where the West India Company's Fort Nassau was now garrisoned by not more than twenty men.

This fact was not made known in Holland. Van Rensselaer's *Letter-Book* shows that in December, 1637, Minuit's ship had been forced to take shelter from storms in the Texel and that the patroon sent on board of it six colonists and some goods for Rensselaerswyck, consigned to Van Twiller. Assuming that Minuit was bound first for Manhattan he wrote to Van Twiller that presumably he would 'show a commission there' but that he himself had no share in the enterprise. Later he wrote to Kieft that Minuit's destination was unknown to him; all he could make out was that he was intending for Virginia whence he was to send on to Manhattan the passengers and goods that Van Rensselaer had confided to him.

Of course Minuit did not touch at Manhattan and show his commission there. Sailing late in the year 1637 he entered the South River in March, 1638, at about the time when Governor Kieft arrived at New Amsterdam, and bought of the Indians lands on the western shore some fifteen miles below Fort Nassau. Questioned by the Dutch commander he said at first that he was on his way to the West Indies and had merely stopped for wood and water. But, undeterred by a formal protest from Governor Kieft warning him not to encroach on the rights of the West India Company, he soon began to build, near the present site of Wilmington, a trading house and a fort called Christina in honor of the young queen of Sweden. Here the little band of colonists planted the first successful settlement in what has become the State of Delaware. During the summer the ships went home with cargoes

of furs. The West India Company protested against the intrusion, but the Swedish government stood back of the new company and the States General were no more willing to embroil themselves with Sweden than with England.

One of the colonists whom Van Rensselaer sent out with Minuit was Arendt Van Curler, or Van Corlaer, a youth of eighteen who was to serve as assistant to the *schout* of the patroonship. He was a cousin or nephew of Van Rensselaer, whether or no a relative of the Jacob Van Corlaer of New Amsterdam does not appear. In after years he won for himself a peculiarly honorable name as a white man whom the Iroquois fully trusted and deeply respected, and who had more influence over them than any one else acquired except, a full century later, Sir William Johnson. To Van Corlaer's hand has been attributed a journal covering parts of the years 1634 and 1635 which gives the earliest known account of the Five Nations, describing the 'castles' and the customs of the Mohawks and including a vocabulary of their language; but the Van Rensselaer papers prove that Van Corlaer saw New Netherland for the first time in 1638.

By this time it had grown evident in Holland that something must be done to improve the condition of New Netherland. The English, it was feared, might seize its northern, the Swedes its southern, parts. The West India Company, still in trouble about its subsidies, was sending out no settlers; 'free colonists' were no longer offering themselves, for owing to the ravages of the plague in Holland every active hand could find employment there; and for the same reason the patroons could not hope for tenants.

Prompted by appeals from the stockholders of the Company, early in 1638 the States General ordered an inquiry into the state of the province which, it was plain, the directors had neglected. Asked whether they might not well resign control of it and place it 'at the disposal of the States General' they refused unless they should thereby 'derive profit,' saying that they still hoped for profit from the province itself.

Yet they could not people it, said the report upon the inquiry, because they could not agree among themselves, and so 'a plan of throwing it open must be considered.'

Accordingly the Amsterdam Chamber presented a plan drawn up by De Laet. Embodying a scheme for the government but none for the colonization of the province and relaxing in no degree the Company's monopolistic grasp, it was rejected by the States General. So was another plan, for the benefit of patroons, called a New Project — evidently an elaborate scheme which, although it bears no date in the draft that has been preserved, is sufficiently dated by a reference to the lands recently covered by the patroonships of Pavonia and Swanendael as reserved with Manhattan for the Company's own behoof. The greedy spirit shown in this New Project explains much better than Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's letters why there was strong opposition in the councils of the Company to the system of patroonships. It says that patroons should be allowed to trade everywhere in all kinds of commodities including furs, paying duties to the Company but aided by it in many specified ways and relieved forever from the need to pay any kind of internal tax. They should be supplied by the Company with negro slaves and by the States General with bond-servants from among the paupers and vagrants of the fatherland. They should be given full power to rule their colonies without supervision by the authorities on Manhattan or in Holland and yet be entitled each to keep at Manhattan an agent who should be *ex officio* a member of the director-general's council. They should have even larger estates than had thus far been granted them and a longer time in which to plant intended colonies. Moreover, said one astonishing clause of the New Project, no 'private and impecunious persons' should be permitted to secure land in New Netherland; all such should be compelled to put themselves 'under the jurisdiction of the respective Lords Patroons.'

The States General now directed that a committee composed of delegates from their own body and from the Amsterdam

Chamber should at once reconsider the whole question of the colonizing of the province. By this means a practicable plan was framed and adopted, undoubtedly a plan the draft of which has been preserved with the draft of De Laet's. It did not, as has sometimes been said, grant free trade with New Netherland although at about the same time the Company freely opened trade with its Brazilian possessions. But it gave certain trading opportunities to private persons who had had none before, put the fur trade on the same basis as traffic in other commodities, assured the private possession of land, and quashed all schemes for excluding free colonists from the province. All inhabitants of the Republic or of a friendly country, it said, who were 'disposed to take up and cultivate' lands in New Netherland might 'convey thither . . . such cattle, merchandise, and property' as they should wish and 'receive the returns' they or their agents should 'obtain therefor in those parts'; but they were to do this only in the Company's ships, and in addition to freight dues were to pay in Holland ten per cent upon the value of all merchandise thence despatched and at New Amsterdam fifteen per cent upon all exported colonial products. To encourage agriculture the director-general was to bestow upon every immigrant as much land as he could properly cultivate, giving a 'proper deed' for it and after a specified time collecting ground-rents in kind for the Company. Failure to cultivate would mean forfeiture of the land; and 'to obviate all confusion and losses' no one was to hold any lands or houses that had not 'come through the hands of the Company.' All intending settlers were to pledge themselves in writing to abide by these regulations. As seems to have been customary in times when the length of a voyage could not be even approximately foreseen, transportation was to be paid for at so much a day, the rates being fixed at one guilder 'for passage and board in the stateroom,' twelve stivers in the 'cabin,' and eight stivers 'between decks.'

Van Rensselaer was not at all sure that in so far relaxing its monopolies the Company had done wisely. There would

be 'a great deal of fraud,' he wrote to Governor Kieft; although at first there would be 'something of a rush' and duties and freights might augment, this would soon cease; and the Company's agents would have such small opportunities to make profits that they would 'yearly fall behind.'

Certainly the immediate result was something like a 'rush' — an infusion of life, an increase of activity, such as the province had not seen before. Kieft imported from the West Indies horses, cattle, negroes, and salt. The Company bestirred itself to send out settlers. Some of its employees obtained their discharge and began, lawfully now, to traffic as well as to plant on their own account. And at many places on and near Manhattan many acres were taken up for cultivation.

The Company had probably instructed Kieft to give deeds for lands already held in the province, for before it framed its new regulations he issued an ordinance granting his 'free people,' in answer to their prayers, permission to take out patents for their lands upon condition that they would pay as rent 'one couple of capons for a house and lot' and, after the end of ten years from the time of acquisition, tenths of 'all crops which God the Lord shall grant to the field.' The earliest of these ground briefs that has been preserved, the oldest title-deed to land on Manhattan, is dated June 20, 1638, and confirms the title of Andries Hudde to one hundred *morgens* 'behind Curler's land' on the Muscoota Flats, part of the De Forest farm which Hudde had obtained by marriage with Henry De Forest's newly made widow. A little older than this title-deed is the first recorded lease for land in New Amsterdam, given for 'two lots' on April 19 to Jan Jansen Dam, Jan Vinje's stepfather.

On the western shore of the North River Kieft granted for 550 guilders to Abram Planck, or Ver Planck, a son of the *schout* of Rensselaerswyck, the tract called Paulus Hoek, part of the defunct patroonship of Pavonia. Here also he leased a farm to Jan Evertsen Bout for the promised rent of one-

fourth of the produce, and a little later another tract to a farmer named Teunissen who cleared and fenced the land, stocked it with cattle, sheep, goats, and swine, planted orchards, and built a brew-house.

Across the East River the Long Island shore was soon dotted with farms. At its southeastern corner, opposite Coney Island, a man named Anthony Jansen, who was called Van Salee or sometimes 'the Turk' and is thought to have been a semi-Dutchman from Morocco, settled at a spot which, then named 's Gravesande after a town in Holland, became Gravesend when a few years later a party of English immigrants obtained it.

In 1639 another plantation was started on the Muscoota Flats by Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, a Dane who had served as a naval commander in the East Indies. By special permission of the West India Company he made the voyage to New Netherland in an armed ship chartered for the purpose, bringing his family, many head of cattle, and a number of herdsmen. He named his farm Zegendael, Vale of Blessing, but it was commonly called Jochem Pietersen's Flat. An Indian trail ran back of this group of farms but of course the journeyings to and from New Amsterdam were commonly by water. Nearer New Amsterdam on the East River shore, at Deutel (now Turtle) Bay, Thomas Hall, the first English New Netherlander, obtained a half share in a tobacco farm.

For the Company Kieft bought from the Indians more lands on Long Island and the first secured on the mainland north of Manhattan in the region afterwards called Westchester. Here Jonas Bronck, another Dane who came in company with Kuyter, was the pioneer settler. The wide tract that he called Emaus was also known as Bronck's Land; when this name was lost in the name Morrisania the pioneer's still clung to a little river; and it is now borne by Bronx Park and by one of the boroughs of Greater New York. A drawing indorsed 'The plot of Bronckx his land' is in the State archives, and so is a contract, dated in July, 1639, which shows how the farm was cleared. Bronck

leased it to two farmers who promised to plant it with tobacco and maize, every two years breaking a certain amount of new ground and surrendering to Bronck for the planting of grain the part previously broken, paying no rent meanwhile but engaging to repay the money that Bronck had advanced for their passage from Europe.

Before returning to Holland in the summer of 1636 Captain De Vries had asked Van Twiller to 'register' Staten Island for him as he wished to return and plant a colony upon it. At the end of the year 1638 De Vries came again, in a Company's ship, with a few persons 'in his service' whom he settled on the island. But, discouraged by the fact that one of the directors of the Company who had promised to send him more settlers failed to do so, he leased this bouwerie and bought lands of the Indians, he relates, in a beautiful region called Tappaen on the west bank of the river a few miles north of Fort Amsterdam. Naming this bouwerie Vriessendael, by the end of the year 1640 he 'began to take hold of it.'

A paper called the *Journal of New Netherland* which was written by or for Governor Kieft says that a number of persons whose time as bond-servants in Virginia had expired were now attracted to Manhattan by its repute as a good place to grow tobacco. Other Englishmen came from New England — so many in all that in 1639 Kieft prescribed for such residents an oath of allegiance to the States General the Prince of Orange, and the West India Company which pledged them

> . . . to follow the Director or any of his council wherever they shall lead; faithfully to give instant warning of any treason or other detriment to this country that shall come to their knowledge; to assist to the utmost of their powers in defending with their treasure and their blood the inhabitants thereof against all enemies.

The Connecticut Valley was now hopelessly lost to the Dutch although for many years they refused to recognize the fact. By 1637 it had eight hundred English settlers

including one hundred and fifty men of fighting age — some estimates say two hundred and fifty. They had not, however, been living in comfort or in peace, for the Pequots were aroused against all Englishmen by Endicott's fierce treatment of the natives on Block Island and along the shores of the Thames. In 1637 the Valley settlers, so harassed that they could hardly grow food enough to keep themselves from starvation, took up arms in earnest, aided by Massachusetts and Plymouth and led by Captain John Mason and Captain John Underhill. Near the Mystic River they defeated the Pequots and, following them westward, beyond the Connecticut they crushed and dispersed the tribe. The Dutch were not involved in this Pequot War except as they figured in an act of mercy performed on behalf of their rivals. The Pequots having captured two English girls and carried them to the Thames where the Dutchmen had a trading post, says Winthrop's history, Van Twiller

> . . . sent a sloop . . . to redeem the two English maids by what risk soever though it were with breach of their peace with the Pequods. The sloop offered largely for their ransom but nothing would be accepted. So the Dutch, having many Pequods on board, stayed six of them (the rest leaped overboard) and with them redeemed the two maids. . . .

John Underhill, who wrote an account of the war, tells the story differently. He says, indeed, that Van Twiller ordered a vessel to rescue the girls even if thus the Dutch should 'hazard their peace' with the Pequots, but that the deed was actually accomplished by a Dutch skipper who stipulated that as a reward he should be allowed, in spite of the war, to continue to traffic along the Thames.

The defeat of the Pequots did not mean harmony in the Valley. The towns quarrelled among themselves about boundaries and about tolls exacted at the mouth of the river. Plymouth, Governor Bradford explains, felt deeply aggrieved because the founders of Windsor had planted themselves too near its own post. The land, said the Windsor men,

was 'the Lord's waste' — 'waste' meaning in England the portion of land where all the freemen of a community had equal rights of pasturage; nevertheless, they would pay the Plymouth men if they would give up their post. Their 'unkindness,' says Bradford, was not soon forgotten; as the people of Plymouth were the first to sit down by the Connecticut they deserved to have held it 'and not by friends to have been thrust out as in a sort they were.'

On the other hand, Massachusetts was much displeased because all of those who went westward from its settlements except the founders of Springfield had, in spite of their promises, left its jurisdiction and established an independent commonwealth, the people of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor organizing in 1636 the court or legislature of Connecticut and in 1639 adopting the constitution known as the Fundamental Orders. So angry, in fact, were the people of the Bay Colony that in 1638 Thomas Hooker complained to their governor on behalf of his own colony, saying that any one who wished to remove to it was looked upon in Massachusetts 'as a Turk or as a man scarcely worthy to live.' And a letter written soon afterwards by Lord Say and Sele to Winthrop shows that the people of the Valley and the people of the Bay bitterly accused each other of using, in America and in England, disparaging words and underhand tactics to advance their own at the expense of their rivals' interests.

In 1639 when Captain De Vries visited the Connecticut he found that close to Fort Good Hope, which was held by less than two score soldiers, the English had built a little town (Hartford) with a fine church and more than a hundred houses. As instructed by Director Kieft he entered a protest, telling the English commander that 'it was wrong to take by force the Company's land which it had bought and paid for.' Although the Dutch had been there many years, said the Englishman, they had done 'scarcely anything,' and it was a sin to let such good land lie idle.

From the banks of the Connecticut the Englishmen were

casting their eyes westward toward River Mauritius itself. The land between these two rivers, wrote one Israel Stoughton to the governor of Massachusetts, was 'too good for any but friends.' In 1638 Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant, and John Davenport, a non-conformist minister who had served among the English refugees at Rotterdam, came from England by way of Boston with a party composed chiefly of well-to-do Londoners and, without grant or title except from the Indians, took possession of a spot beyond the Connecticut which Adriaen Block had named *Roodenberg* (Red Mount) because of great basaltic rocks that rose steeply from the plain. Here they laid the foundations of New Haven and in 1639, De Vries recorded, were building fifty houses. Even nearer than this to the Dutch there were English settlements — at Stratford just beyond the Housatonic, at Norwalk, at Stamford, and at Greenwich only thirty miles from Manhattan. And all that Governor Kieft could do was to buy more lands from the red men and compel the few people at Greenwich to acknowledge his jurisdiction. Their neighbors were within the jurisdiction of New Haven which, setting up at once a government of its own, remained for a generation independent of Connecticut.

In 1639 Lion Gardiner, the Scotchman who had built the fort at Saybrook, obtained from the Indians an island lying between the eastern points of Long Island which he called the Isle of Wight, now Gardiner's Island. From James Farrett, whom the Earl of Stirling had sent out as his agent, he secured a title that gave him manorial rights. His settlement was the first planted by a subject of the king of England within the present borders of New York; and his daughter Elizabeth, born in 1641, was the first child of British blood who is known to have been born within these limits. Her mother, it may be said, was a Dutchwoman whom Gardiner had married while serving in Holland as a military engineer under the Prince of Orange. His estate passed for eight generations from father to son and is still owned by descendants of his name. In his latter years he

wrote a *Relation of the Pequot Wars,* which had occurred while he was in command at Saybrook.

The Dutch had not specifically claimed Gardiner's Island but they considered that the whole of Long Island belonged to them. Its eastern parts they had not bought of the natives, but all between the East River and Oyster Bay Van Twiller and Kieft had purchased. Therefore when Farrett, coming to New Amsterdam in 1640, asserted Stirling's right to the whole island, Kieft arrested him and turned him out of the province. Soon afterwards a party of emigrants from Massachusetts tried, as authorized by Farrett, to settle near Oyster Bay, the valuable spot where wampum was most largely manufactured, and as a first step threw down and insulted the Dutch sign of possession, the arms of the States General. By Kieft's command a few soldiers led by Secretary Van Tienhoven brought six of the intruders to Manhattan. After a few days' imprisonment they signed a promise to quit the jurisdiction of the Dutch. They then settled toward the eastern end of Long Island, founding Southampton; near by a party from New Haven had recently founded Southold; and with these enterprises Kieft did not try to interfere. Southold remained for a while under the control of New Haven. Southampton was independent, for Farrett made no effort to establish any kind of jurisdiction on Stirling's behalf.

In 1641, when the fall of Stafford and Laud had encouraged the enemies of King Charles on both sides of the sea, Massachusetts sent a little embassy to England. One of its members, the Reverend Hugh Peters, afterwards Cromwell's chaplain, who had lived in Holland and spoke the Dutch tongue, carried a letter of credence to the West India Company with instructions to ask upon what terms it would sell its 'plantation' or would unite in 'advancing the great work' in America, and to urge that it would refrain from 'molesting' the English on the Connecticut who were willing to submit their title to the judgment of impartial persons, and that it would

. . . consider the inhabitants of New England, who number about 40,000, a people covetous on their side of peace and of the propagation of the Gospel above all worldly things, and no ways desirous of causing the Company either trouble or loss.

Hugh Peters visited Holland but nothing came of his instructions. At the same time Lord Say and Sele addressed a memorial to the Dutch ambassadors in England complaining about the state of things on the Connecticut where there were two thousand English and only 'five or six Dutch at most,' yet where the English had used no violence and the Dutch should be told to demean themselves in a 'peaceable and neighborly manner.' The States General instructed their ambassadors to explain that New Netherland was so weak it would make no trouble, adding for their private ear that neither would England make trouble, being 'rent in twain' by the rebellion against its king. Both these predictions were verified. Without hindrance and without help the Connecticut settlers were able to follow part of the advice given in 1642 by Sir William Boswell the English representative at the Hague. Writing home about the encroachments of the Dutch in America Boswell said that he himself should be instructed to approach the States General in the matter while the Dutch ambassadors in England should be made sensible of the harm that would certainly befall the West India Company should quarrels arise and spread from those quarters. In the meantime the New Englanders should not forbear

. . . to put forward their plantations and crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of the places where they have occupied but without hostility or any act of violence.

By 1641 only a field of thirty acres back of the Dutchmen's Fort Good Hope was left to them of all the wide easterly region they had thought to make their own, and even this they did not possess in peace. The Hartford people tried to seize it, destroyed the crops, carried away horses and cattle, beat the Dutchmen, and blocked up their fort with

palisades so that it could be entered only from the water side. Tired of protesting over and over again in words, and stung to disobedience of the Company's orders, Kieft directed Councillor La Montagne to go with fifty men to relieve the little garrison and to 'curb the insolence of the English thereabouts' but was forced by the outbreak of Indian troubles near Manhattan to countermand the order. In the spring of 1642 he forbade his people to buy, directly or indirectly, the produce of the stolen land where, as the ordinance recites dramatically and in detail, the Englishmen had left no sort of 'cruelty, insolence, nor violence' unused while the Hollanders could only prove by their conduct that they were 'better Christians' than those who 'go about there clothed with such outward show.'

Denying all charges of truculence the Hartford people said that the Dutch garrison received fugitives from their justice, helped their prisoners to break jail, bought goods that had been stolen from them, and sold guns to the Indians. Asking counsel, however, from Massachusetts, they got the advice to proceed more moderately — as, for example, by letting the Dutchmen have more land than their remnant of thirty acres. Then they sent commissioners to Manhattan to buy Fort Good Hope. Kieft had no authority to sell it, and they refused his offer of a lease.

From a third source — now from New England — the Dutch possession of the South River was threatened in 1641. In the spring of this year a ship put in at Manhattan bearing twenty families sent from New Haven by a 'Delaware Company' which had been formed to trade in furs and embraced, it is said, almost all the chief residents of the town. Through their leader the intending settlers gave Kieft a pledge that unless they found unappropriated lands they would establish themselves under the government of New Netherland and take the oath of allegiance. Nevertheless, when they reached the river they bought of the Indians, who, here as elsewhere, were ready enough to sell their acres more

than once, a tract of land within the Dutch territory; and the general court of New Haven decided that they should remain there 'in combination with this town.' Soon after planting his Swedish colony in this same neighborhood Peter Minuit had died, probably in the West Indies on his way back to Europe, while his colonists were so discouraged that they resolved to remove to Manhattan. In 1640 and 1641, however, they were strengthened and heartened by the arrival of more settlers some of whom the Swedish Company had been permitted to embark in Holland. Now, when Kieft sent two vessels from Manhattan to compel the Englishmen 'to depart directly in peace,' the Swedes gave the Dutchmen their aid. Brought first to Manhattan the intruders were sent back to New Haven. One who still persisted in trading on the river was soon afterwards arrested in New Amsterdam and compelled to pay duties on his cargo of furs. Thus New Haven reaped from its costly enterprise only outraged pride and a large money loss; and it long remembered the fact as a bitter grievance against the New Netherlanders.

In 1642 Queen Christina of Sweden sent out to govern her colony an old soldier named John Prinz — 'a man of brave size,' wrote Captain De Vries, 'who weighed over four hundred pounds.' He was instructed to maintain friendship with the Dutch but to 'shut up' the river so that no one could trade there for furs except as agent for the Swedish company. Thus was firmly planted the colony called New Sweden, the only one that Sweden ever established in America.

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CHAPTER VI

PROSPERITY AND DANGER

1638–1643

(Governor Kieft)

Kieft thus being made Director had now a path wherein, with good appearance and without being subject to much being said, he could have acquired honor and distinction. . . . Passing by divers trifling abuses . . . be it known then that he had a long time nourished in his own bosom the design of making war upon the Indians of New Netherland because they had refused him certain contributions, which they had done for reasons, saying that they did not consider themselves bound to contribute to the Director of the Netherlanders. — *Breeden Raedt. 1649.*

The regulations adopted by the West India Company in 1638 did not settle the disputes about patroons and their colonies. They failed, as has been indicated, to please the one patroon who had really established a colony. And Van Rensselaer was all the more dissatisfied because this colony was not flourishing as he had hoped. He was not content with the services rendered him by either of his nephews, Van Twiller and Notelman. His people, most of them in debt to him for advances when they reached Rensselaerswyck, and all forbidden to trade their products except with his own commissary, found it hard to gain anything although he directed that the merchandise he sent out should not be bartered at such rates as would deprive them of all their share of profit from the farms. Discouraged and disobedient they turned to contraband traffic. Every peasant in the colony, wrote De Vries when he visited it in 1640, was a

trader as well as a farmer. And at home Van Rensselaer and his partners did not always agree. Nevertheless he continued to urge the establishment of more patroonships as the only way to insure that the province would not be 'contracted and encroached upon as is done even now by foreigners, English as well as Swedes,' and would be peopled by a better sort of persons than the 'tatterdemalions' who were now emigrating. His partner the historian De Laet, he wrote to a correspondent in Holland, took no interest in the colony 'except to enquire about rarities or to ask for some copy of a document.' Of himself he said:

> I acknowledge that I talk too much, but when I think of the trouble that I had for others and how I received nothing but opposition in return I do not know how to balance my labor against the ingratitude shown me.

In 1640 the Company, directed again by the States General to settle its disputes and to consult with delegates from their own body, published a new Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. It was not at all what Van Rensselaer desired. It was less favorable to patroons, much more favorable to other settlers, than the charter of 1629. Any Netherlander, whether a member of the Company or not, was now permitted to establish a patroonship but might claim for it only four miles along coast or river. Any person who would transport to the province five adults besides himself might claim as 'master or colonist' two hundred acres with hunting and fishing privileges. If such colonists should form themselves into 'hamlets, villages, or even cities' they were to be permitted to choose their own magistrates after the manner customary in the fatherland — the director-general to select incumbents from triple nominations presented by the vote of the free inhabitants — and to erect courts of justice. From such courts as well as from the patroons' a right of appeal in all but small cases lay to the court of the director-general. This was the second promise of local self-government for the Dutch province.

To such emigrants as were willing to travel between decks the Company offered free transport. Should Company ships not be available patroons and free colonists might get special permission to send out their own, taking on board a supercargo of the Company. The Company pledged itself to supply its province with 'capable' councillors and other officials, clergymen, comforters of the sick, schoolmasters, and 'as many blacks as possible.' And it promised that so long as the new charter should remain in force it would not burden the colonists with 'customs, tolls, excise, imposts, or any other contributions.' This evidently meant that it would demand nothing beyond the export duties prescribed by the charter itself which were ten per cent upon all merchandise sent from Holland and, to be paid at New Amsterdam 'all in kind,' ten per cent upon skins, five per cent upon other wares. Paying these duties and respecting the staple-right regulations regarding Manhattan, all settlers might now engage in the internal and coastwise traffic previously reserved to patroons; and all were now permitted to manufacture.

Another clause in the charter promised protection to the colonists 'against all domestic and foreign wars and violence' provided they would put themselves in a proper state of defence, each man supplying himself with a gun or a cutlass and side-arms. This mandate Kieft echoed by ordinance, adding that all inhabitants 'at and around Fort Amsterdam' should hold themselves ready instantly to repair under their respective corporals to the appointed places when summoned by signals duly described. Such were the first militia regulations of the province. The soldiers who garrisoned the fort, detached from the regular army in Holland and sent out for short periods, numbered at this time only fifty although in 1633 Van Twiller had brought out thrice as many. To take command of them, to be 'commander of the military,' Van Rensselaer wrote to Kieft in May, 1640, Hendrick Van Dyck who appeared to have qualities of 'intelligence and courage' was just then setting sail. Ensign Van Dyck he is called in the records.

It was at this time that Cornelis Melyn, a man of means who had been a tanner at Amsterdam, had visited New Netherland in 1638 as supercargo of a ship, and had since obtained in Holland permission to settle as a patroon on Staten Island, returned with his family and dependents to start his colony. De Vries objected, thinking that the island should have been reserved for him, but was induced to consent that Melyn should establish himself at a place near the Narrows. A little later Kieft gave him a patent conferring the rights of a patroon for the whole island excepting the portion actually covered by De Vries's bouwerie. Melyn seems to have had to begin his enterprise twice over for he testified in later years that in 1640 the pirates called Dunkirkers had taken him, his ship, people, cattle, and all his belongings. Early in 1641 a patroonship which seems never to have amounted to much was established north of Newark Bay, then called Achter Col.

In spite of his energy and its good results Governor Kieft did not please his people. Some of the accusations showered upon him and his employers were exaggerated or untrue. For example, the *Breeden Raedt*, a bitter controversial pamphlet published at Antwerp in 1649, goes beyond the verge of the probable when it says that the West India Company so envied the growing prosperity of its colonists that it instructed Kieft to bring suits against them 'in order to take more of their profits from them.' Kieft, however, appears to have done much this sort of thing on his own account, haling men into his court on the slightest pretexts and imposing unjust fines and fees. Soon the settlers declared that he had made himself an autocrat and used his power to oppress and to plunder them. They objected to a court which consisted only of himself and a single councillor, and complained that when he wanted to enlarge it he asked assistance not of reputable freemen but of the Company's subordinate servants. Especially they resented an ordinance which prescribed that no 'contracts, obligations, leases,

bills of sale,' or formal papers of any sort should be valid unless drawn up by Secretary Van Tienhoven. Kieft's design, they said, was to prevent them from sending plaints or pleas to Holland. He merely wished, he explained, to avoid misunderstandings in a place where many people were illiterate and ignorant of law.

In spite of his orders that no man should leave Manhattan without a permit all men continued to do so and to traffic with the savages wherever they chose. This was one cause of the Indian troubles which began in 1640. The chief and actively exciting cause was the governor's injustice to the red men.

Permitted freely to frequent New Amsterdam with maize, tobacco, and furs for sale, entertained as guests, and employed as outdoor and even as indoor servants, the Indians soon lost their awe of the white man, developed their passion for his drinks, and offered irresistible prices for his firearms and powder — as much as twenty beaver skins for a single musket. The Company wisely forbade under penalty of death any such traffic, and Kieft prevented it almost entirely in the neighborhood of Fort Amsterdam. Farther away, and especially at Rensselaerswyck, he had less control. Therefore the Mohawks rejoiced in an abundance of the coveted weapons while the Indians around Manhattan, getting but a meagre supply, grew morose and indignant with the Dutch. The newly granted liberty in internal trade increased the number of wandering traders and tempted them deep into the wilderness. It also scattered the settlers, who thought they could traffic best with the savages by living far from one another; and this meant that their straying cattle often injured the Indians' crops while their isolation invited revengeful attacks.

Such a state of things provoked individual crimes and paved the way for local outbreaks which even a wise governor might not have been able to prevent. Yet for a long time peace and amity prevailed. As late as 1640 Captain De Vries wrote of the Indians:

Though they are so revengeful towards their enemies they are very friendly to us. We have no fears of them; we go with them into the woods; we meet each other sometimes at an hour or two's distance from any house, and we think nothing more of it than if a Christian met us. They also sleep in the chambers before our beds, but lying down on the bare ground with a stone or a piece of wood under the head.

Kieft had clear orders from the Company to preserve these good relations with the savages by clement as well as just and prudent treatment. Instead, he treated them as the New Englanders had treated the Pequots: if one of them killed a settler the governor refused the customary Indian reparation, blood-money paid in wampum, and demanded the surrender of the culprit. Also, falsely professing to act under instructions from the Company, he tried to collect tribute in corn or service from the friendly River Indians whom the Dutch, he said, had protected against the Mohawks, but who hotly resented the injustice of the demand. His people asserted at a later day that this was the main cause of the war. Captain De Vries names another: Kieft visited on the savages, 'who although they are bad enough will do you no harm if you do them none,' certain wrongs which his own agents had committed. That is, in 1640 he accused the Raritans of Staten Island of depredations actually committed by white men, and sent soldiers to ask satisfaction; the soldiers killed several Indians without the governor's orders but in the belief that he would be pleased; and one or two other persons, De Vries asserts, cruelly maltreated one or more of the savages. So in 1641 the tribe retaliated, desolating De Vries's plantation and killing four of his people. It was the general alarm awakened by this raid that prevented Kieft from sending Councillor La Montagne with reënforcements to check the English who were persecuting the little garrison at Fort Good Hope. The Almighty had directed the raid in the interests of his chosen people, thought Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. It 'pleased the Lord,' he explained, thus 'to disappoint the purpose of the Dutchmen.'

Declaring now that he would exterminate the Raritans Kieft tried to excite the River Indians against them and offered bounties for their heads, as the New Englanders did in the case of their savage enemies when at a much later day King Philip's War was beginning. And then the spectre of a long-past crime arose, dramatically, to excite him to other rash and cruel courses.

This crime had been committed in 1626, the year of the first governor's arrival. Three of Minuit's servants, whom some accounts describe as negroes, then robbed and killed a Wechquaeskeck Indian on Manhattan near the borders of the Kalck Hoek Pond. Minuit did not punish them or pay the blood-money that the tribe demanded. An Indian boy who had witnessed the murder, a nephew of the victim, nursed his revenge for years. In 1641 he came to Manhattan from the home of the tribe beyond the Harlem River in what is now Westchester County and treacherously slew an old man, called Claes Cornelissen Swits (the Swiss) or Rademaker (the Wheelright), who had leased part of Jacobus Van Corlaer's farm on the Muscoota Flats. Kieft demanded the surrender of the young brave. His sachem replied that he had merely done his duty and that he himself regretted that twenty Christians had not been killed.

Kieft now began to grow alarmed. The people said that he was seeking a war so that he might make 'a bad accounting for the Company,' presumably for his private profit. Also, writes De Vries, they accused him of cowardice because he imperilled their safety but guarded his own: he had not slept outside the fort 'a single night during all the years he had been there.' Fearing therefore, De Vries continues, that the trouble which now seemed imminent would be laid to his charge, Kieft

> . . . called the people together to choose twelve men to aid him in the direction of the affairs of the country, of which number I, as a patroon, was one.

Such was the first faint dawning of popular government on

Manhattan. In answer to Kieft's summons 'all heads of families' met in the fort on August 29, 1641; and with the twelve men whom they then chose to act on behalf of the 'Commonalty of New Amsterdam' begins the roll of the representatives who, under widely differing conditions, have since been elected to do the will of the people of New Amsterdam and New Netherland, of the city and province and State of New York. Their names were:

David Pietersen De Vries,
Jacques Bentyn,
Jan Jansen Damen,
Hendrick Jansen,
Maryn Adriaensen,
Abram Pietersen Molenaar,
Frederik Lubbertsen,
Jochem Pietersen Kuyter,
Gerrit Dircksen,
Joris Rapelje,
Abram Planck,
Jacob Stoffelsen.

Here were residents of Manhattan, Pavonia, Long Island, and Staten Island, for what was called the *Gemeende* or Commonalty of New Amsterdam embraced not only the people in the little town around the fort but also the other settlers on Manhattan and in its neighborhood. All twelve appear to have been true Netherlanders except Kuyter the Dane and Rapelje the Walloon. Both of these were farmers. So was Dircksen, Planck (if, as is probable but not certain, he was the Planck or Ver Planck who had settled at Paulus Hoek), and Stoffelsen who had been one of the Company's commissaries and overseer of its negroes. Bentyn had served on Van Twiller's council. Jansen was a tailor, Lubbertsen a seaman, Molenaar a miller. Damen (also called Dam) has already been mentioned as the stepfather of the first-born son of Manhattan. Adriaensen had recently come from Rensselaerswyck whither the patroon had sent him as a master tobacco planter in 1631.

As their president the Twelve Men chose Captain De Vries. His account of their proceedings says:

> Commander Kieft then submitted a proposition whether we should avenge the murder of Claes the Wheelwright by declaring war upon the Indians or not. We answered that time and opportunity must

be taken as our cattle were running at pasture in the woods and we were living far and wide, east, west, south, and north of each other; that we were not prepared to carry on a war with the Indians until we had more people like the English who make towns and villages. I told Commander Kieft that no profit was to be derived from a war with the Indians; that he was the means of my people being murdered at the colony which I had commenced on Staten Island in the year forty. . . .

De Vries also told the governor that the West India Company had ordered its colonists to keep peace with the savages. But Kieft 'would not listen to it,' and again the captain lamented the careless manner in which the Company made choice of its officials.

The Twelve Men insisted that Kieft should send 'one, two, and three times' peaceably to demand the murderer of Swits before declaring war. Arguing with them individually Kieft urged immediate action. Not until January, 1642, when repeated solicitations had failed to effect the surrender of the culprit, did they consent, unwillingly, to attack the Wechquaeskecks provided the governor would accompany the expedition 'to prevent all disorder.' He was also to supply guns and ammunition, provisions and a steward to distribute them, but, they added, 'if anyone require more than bread and butter, he must provide it himself.'

These facts are told in papers which Kieft afterwards took with him when he sailed for Holland. From the people's own petitions and narratives of a later day it appears that as soon as they had settled the main matter under discussion they seized their chance to speak about other things. They demanded for the people a share in the government, saying that in Holland even the smallest village had its elected judiciary of five or seven *schepens*. To save 'the land from oppression' they asked that the governor's council should consist of at least five persons, that four of them should be members of their own board, and that, according to the Dutch custom of rotation in office, two of these should annually be retired in favor of others. They also asked for a

proper organization of the burgher guard or militia, which was not being maintained as the Company had prescribed, and for sundry commercial regulations. To some of these requests Kieft gave a qualified assent. But he made small effort to redeem his promises; he told the Twelve Men that the Commonalty had not empowered them to do anything except advise about the murder of Swits; and in February he practically dissolved their board, forbidding them to meet or to call 'any manner of assemblage' without his express command. Thus, as the *Remonstrance of New Netherland* declared, he proved that he had sanctioned their election merely that they might serve him 'as a cloak and as a cat's paw' when he was 'wholly bent' upon fighting the Indians.

Possibly he had sanctioned it because of certain things that Van Rensselaer had pointed out to him in one of his long letters, dwelling upon the difference between commanding 'a loose mass of people' and ruling 'a republic' where, after the custom of Holland, there should be local governments attending to matters within their own spheres so that only 'great and important' ones would come before the 'general chief,' which general chief, moreover, 'should be assisted by delegates from the respective members.' So, thought Van Rensselaer, New Netherland ought to be governed, but as the Company was 'not inclined that way' it would not be feasible to bring about such a state of things 'gradually and carefully' but only

> . . . to introduce it when the charges become too heavy, in order to get relief, though it will not be possible to do it then as conveniently as if matters had been guided in this direction from the beginning.

Whether or no these sensible words influenced for a moment Governor Kieft, they contained a prediction which, like Wassenaer's, came true.

In March Kieft sent Ensign Van Dyck with eighty men to attack the Wechquaeskecks, quietly staying in the fort himself. The expedition went astray yet it alarmed the savages; in the house of Jonas Bronck they made a pact with the

white men, promising to deliver up the assassin of Swits; and, although they did not keep their word, peace prevailed during the remainder of the year 1642. The wiser settlers must have realized that, Kieft being at the helm, the little provincial ship of state was probably drifting through a deceptive calm into another and a wilder storm. Apart from this danger the condition of New Amsterdam was more prosperous and promising than ever before.

There were now, it is recorded, thirty bouweries near Fort Amsterdam 'as well cultivated and stocked as in Europe' and a hundred lesser plantations in a fair way to become regular bouweries. Some of the most promising had been started by Englishmen. Although the first of these to settle in the province, says the *Journal of New Netherland*, were bond-servants whose time had expired, soon came families,

> . . . and finally entire colonies . . . in order to enjoy freedom of conscience and to escape from the insupportable government of New England.

The most conspicuous result of the theological disputes that had grown bitter and hot in Massachusetts was the founding of the settlements which grew into the colony of Rhode Island. In 1636 Roger Williams sought among the red men at the spot he called Providence the shelter denied him by the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Pilgrims of Plymouth; and in 1638 William Coddington, John Clarke, William Dyer, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the famous Antinomian who had been banished from Massachusetts, her husband, and a few more of the unorthodox found refuge on the island of Aquidneck (Rhode Island).

Others of their kind betook themselves to New Netherland. Many persons were leaving Massachusetts, Winthrop tells, because of hard material conditions — a great depression of trade resulting largely from the disturbed condition of the mother-country; but many accepted the 'very fair terms'

upon which Governor Kieft offered them lands on Long Island because they were 'infected with Anabaptism.' The authorities at Boston reproached them

> . . . not for going from them but for strengthening the Dutch our doubtful neighbors, and taking that from them which our king challenges and had granted a patent of . . . to the Earl of Stirling, and especially for binding themselves by an oath of fealty.

Some thereupon promised to desist; others were not so easily bridled. Nor was Long Island the only place in which Kieft made them welcome. The Reverend Mr. Throgmorton, or Throckmorton, of Salem settled with thirty-five Anabaptist adherents in the region afterwards called Westchester, northeast of Bronck's Land, calling his place Vreedenland, the Land of Peace. The name of Throg's Neck preserves his memory. Just above him at the place then named Annie's Hoek, now Pelham Neck in Pelham Bay Park, settled Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her household, driven from Rhode Island by the fear that Massachusetts or Plymouth would absorb it. A little stream which now forms the western boundary of Pelham Bay Park is still called Hutchinson's River. From Rhode Island came also Thomas Cornell who settled between Bronck's and Throgmorton's plantations. Among his descendants have been the founder of Cornell University and a governor of the State of New York.

To the Reverend Francis Doughty and a group of his friends Kieft gave a great tract of land on Long Island where they founded a village at Mespath, afterwards called Middelburg and Newtown. Doughty was not an Anabaptist or an Antinomian, yet the *Remonstrance of New Netherland*, which was written a few years later by his son-in-law Adriaen Van der Donck, says that after emigrating from England to escape persecution and finding that he had got

> . . . from the frying-pan into the fire . . . he betook himself in consequence under the protection of the Netherlanders in order that he might, according to the Dutch Reformation, enjoy freedom of conscience which he had unexpectedly missed in New England.

Another Anabaptist immigrant was Lady Deborah Moody. Winthrop writes:

> The Lady Moody, a wise and anciently religious woman, being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants, was dealt with by many of the elders and others and admonished by the church of Salem . . . but persisting still and to avoid further trouble she removed to the Dutch against the advice of all her friends. . . . She was afterwards excommunicated.

Not all her friends can have opposed her departure, for besides her minor son, Sir Henry Moody, forty persons came with her when she decided, as a clergyman of Lynn wrote to Winthrop, to 'sit down' at Gravesend on Long Island 'from under civil and church watch among the Dutch.'

On the security of their oaths of allegiance and in accordance with a set of Articles regarding English settlers published by Kieft in June, 1641, all these aliens received their lands without price, promising after the end of ten years to pay tenths of their harvests to the West India Company. They were to enjoy 'free exercise of religion' as well as the hunting, fishing, and trading privileges enjoyed by their Dutch neighbors. And should they 'desire a magistracy' they might set up, in the manner prescribed by the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640, inferior courts of justice from which an appeal should lie to the governor and council in all civil cases involving more than forty guilders and in all criminal cases involving corporal punishment — 'blood-letting' is the Dutch term.

Time was to show how the English settlers of whom these were the first would regard their oaths of allegiance and repay the generous welcome they received. It may be said in advance that again Van Rensselaer proved himself a prophet when he wrote to a correspondent at New Amsterdam in 1643:

> I fear that the arrival of so many Englishmen will later give trouble. The Lord grant that it may turn out better.

So many foreign vessels were now entering the harbor of New Amsterdam that in 1642 Kieft issued a stringent ordinance saying that all goods which had not paid the legal 'recognitions' to the West India Company in the fatherland or in one of the other Dutch colonies should be charged with equivalent import duties at New Amsterdam. And so many were the English residents and the English skippers stopping on the way between Virginia and New England that Kieft had to supply himself with a secretary of their nation. The person he chose — the first English-speaking official of the province — was one of Lady Deborah Moody's companions, Ensign George Baxter, who in spite of his military title had had 'some experience in law cases.'

Although the commonalty of New Amsterdam included five hundred men of fighting age, which implies a total of some twenty-five hundred persons, the 'village' under the walls of the fort, says the *Journal of New Netherland*, sheltered only one hundred men and their families. Yet as it was the centre of life and traffic for the whole neighborhood, the seaport of the up-river settlers, a much-frequented place of call, and the resort of troops of Indians, it was a very lively, busy little town. Besides the Company's people at Fort Orange and the farmers and artisans of Rensselaerswyck, elsewhere in the wide province there were only a few trading posts. In Massachusetts there were some fifteen thousand people. And although New Netherland was now building vessels for coastwise traffic and engaging in transatlantic commerce, Massachusetts was developing the fisheries to which New Netherland paid no attention and was building much larger vessels and more of them — for example, in 1643 five ships of from one hundred to four hundred tons' burden. Thanks to the fur trade, however, New Amsterdam was probably as yet without a rival in New England as a place of export to Europe.

The early settlers in New Amsterdam, having no titles to the land, had placed their houses as they chose with little regard to their neighbors'. After the 'free people' petitioned for title-deeds in 1638, streets were laid out and the land was

sold or leased in small parcels. The earliest known private deed, dated in 1643, transferred from Abraham Jacobsen Van Steenwyck to Anthony Jansen Van Fees a lot on Brugh Straet (now Bridge Street) measuring thirty feet on the street and one hundred and ten feet in depth for the sum of twenty-four guilders — less than $10, or more than $40 according to the present value of money. Secretary Van Tienhoven lived in a house thirty feet long and twenty feet wide. Within the fort Kieft built a new official residence of stone, one hundred feet in length, fifty in width, and twenty-four in height.

On the outlying bouweries the farmers built substantially and lived in comfort. Jonas Bronck had a stone house roofed with tiles which, as is shown by the 'plot' of his land in the State archives, stood near the site of the present Morrisania station of the Harlem River railroad. An inventory taken in 1643, after his death, mentions good furniture and clothes, some curiosities including a 'Japanese cutlass,' table silver and pewter, eleven pictures 'big and little,' twenty books in Danish, Dutch, and German, eighteen 'old printed pamphlets,' and 'seventeen manuscript books which are old.' This polyglot little library is the earliest of which any record survives in the annals of New York. There may well have been larger ones on Manhattan but nothing to rival the largest libraries in New England. Chief among these, most probably, was the library of the younger John Winthrop who, as his father recorded, owned a thousand volumes. About three hundred of them, mostly Latin books relating to astrology, alchemy, and kindred subjects, came in 1812 by gift from a member of the Winthrop family into the possession of the Society Library of New York.

On Perel Straet or the Strand, near the modern Stone and Bridge streets, the West India Company now had five stone warehouses which were also workshops for the artisans — coopers, armorers, tailors, hatters, shoemakers, and so forth — whom it sent out to supply the needs of its soldiers and employees. Near by stood its brew-house which gave Brouwer Straet its name, afterwards changed to Stone Street.

Not only his credit but his heart would break, wrote Governor Harvey in 1632, if he had to continue to be the host as well as the governor of Virginia. In 1642 Governor Kieft, just as tired of entertaining strangers in his own house, built for the West India Company a *Stadt's Herberg* or City Tavern, such official inns for the accommodation of travellers being customary in Dutch towns. It is best remembered as the *Stadt Huis* or City Hall of New Amsterdam, a dignity to which it attained in after years. It seems to have been about forty by thirty feet in size and of two main stories with a basement and a high attic. It stood apart from the town and faced the East River, but its site is now well away from the shore of the widened modern city — on the north side of Pearl Street at the head of Coenties Slip. It was leased at first for 300 guilders a year to Philip Geraerdy who pledged himself to sell only the Company's liquors and wines.

The first public ferry to Long Island was established in 1642. The ferry-boat, a flatboat summoned by the blowing of a horn, plied where the river was narrow, well above the village of New Amsterdam, between points which are now the foot of Fulton Street in Brooklyn and Peck Slip in New York.

The main road northward from the fort was an old Indian path which, forking below the present City Hall Park, continued along the eastern and western banks of the Kalck Hoek Pond. Its lower end, then called the Heere Weg or Heere Straet, began to assume a likeness to a street in 1643 when, it is said, a tavern owned by Martin Cregier was built upon the lots now numbered 9 and 11 Broadway. Barring the Stadt's Herberg this was the chief place of entertainment in Governor Kieft's New Amsterdam. The building which replaced the first one on this site and was also a house of entertainment grew famous during the Revolution as Burns' Coffee House, was known in its latter days as the Atlantic Garden, and stood until 1860.

Captain De Vries tells of the founding of New Amsterdam's first substantial church building:

As I was daily with Commander Kieft, generally dining with him when I went to the fort, he told me that he had now a fine inn, built of stone, in order to accommodate the English who daily passed with their vessels from New England to Virginia, from whom he suffered great annoyance and who might now lodge in the tavern. I replied that it happened well for the travellers but there was great want of a church, and that it was a scandal to us when the English passed there and saw only a mean barn in which we preached; that the first thing which the English built, after their dwellings, was a fine church, and we ought to do so too as the West India Company was deemed a principal means of upholding the Reformed Religion against the tyranny of Spain, and had excellent materials therefor, namely, fine oak-wood, good mountain stone, and lime burnt of oyster shells, much better than our lime in Holland. He then inquired who would superintend the work. I answered, the lovers of the Reformed Religion who were truly so. He then said that I must be one of them, as I proposed it, and must give a hundred guilders.

De Vries consented, saying that the governor also must give on his own account and more largely on the Company's, that the church must be built in the fort to guard against any surprise by the Indians, and that he and the governor, with Damen who lived close to the fort and Jochem Pietersen Kuyter who was a devout person and had good workmen who could quickly prepare the timber, must as church wardens superintend the work. Kieft promised on behalf of the Company one thousand guilders. The *Remonstrance of New Netherland* tells how he got money from the people. At a wedding-feast in the house of Domine Bogardus whose stepdaughter Sarah, the daughter of Annetje Jans, was marrying Dr. Hans Kierstede, 'after the fourth or fifth drink' the governor passed around his subscription list, setting a liberal example:

> Each then, with a light head, subscribed away at a handsome rate, one competing with the other; and although some heartily repented it when their senses came back, they were obliged nevertheless to pay; nothing could avail against it.

The church was located in the fort, against the people's wish as it turned the wind from the grist-mill that stood near by; and, writes De Vries, its walls were

. . . speedily begun to be laid up with quarry-stone and to be covered by the English carpenters with slate, or rather with oak shingles which by exposure to the wind and rain turn blue and look as if they were slate.

The contract signed by these carpenters, brothers named Ogden who came from Stamford in New Haven Colony, is preserved among the State archives and shows that they engaged to erect as well as to roof the church, a structure of undressed stone 72 feet in length, 54 in width, and 16 in height. They were to be paid 2500 guilders in cash, beaver skins, or merchandise, and if they 'well earned' this money 100 guilders more. The paper bears the signatures of John and Richard Ogden and of two other persons who probably acted as their sureties — Gysbert Op Dyck, a prominent New Netherlander, and Thomas Willett, an Englishman from Plymouth destined to play a prominent part in the later history of New Netherland and in early English days to serve as the first mayor of the city of New York.

This was the church with the high-pitched roof that is shown in pictures of New Amsterdam. It was not finished for some years. Tradition says that it was dedicated to St. Nicholas. With the voice of its bell, one of the old bells from Porto Rico, it regulated the daily life of the people. They paid for their church, says the *Remonstrance*, although the inscription Kieft placed upon it was somewhat ambiguous: 'Anno Domini 1642 William Kieft Director General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this temple.' The church was torn down shortly before the end of the century. When the fort in which it had stood was razed a century later, in 1790, the slab was unearthed that bore Kieft's inscription, reading:

Ao. Do. MDCXLII W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Geemeente
dese Tempel doen Bouwen.

Placed in the belfry of the Dutch church which then stood on Exchange Place, the old slab perished with this building in the great fire of 1835.

Dr. Hans Kierstede, it may be noted, whose wedding became historic through its connection with the building of the church, was a surgeon from Magdeburg in Saxony whom the West India Company had sent out with Governor Kieft. He and La Montagne were the chief physicians of New Amsterdam although one named Van der Bogaert practised before their arrival and by 1638 there were three others, probably ships' surgeons whose stay was brief. Kierstede's descendants followed in his steps with a constancy rare in our changeful America: it is believed that always since his time New York has had a physician or an apothecary of his blood and name.

Although the earliest known view of New Amsterdam was not published until 1651, by Joost Hartgers in a book describing the English colonies, New Netherland, Bermuda, and the West Indies, it must have been drawn before 1642 as it does not show the church. It is a simple sketch, four and three-quarters inches square, showing the fort as seen from the water with a large Indian canoe in the foreground, and was probably made with the help of a *camera obscura* as it reverses the points of the compass. It is labelled *'T Fort nieuw Amsterdam op de Manhatans.* Of even earlier date is probably the first special map or, rather, bird's-eye view or plan of Manhattan, indorsed *Manhatus gelegen op de noot rivier* and believed to have been made for the West India Company by a draughtsman named Vingbooms. This was discovered in Amsterdam not many years ago and was first reproduced in a French periodical in 1892 when it was shown at the Columbian exhibition in Paris. It measures 68 by 45 centimetres and gives the eastern shore of Long Island, the East River with its islands, and Manhattan, not very correctly outlined, with its hills and creeks. Only two localities have names, *Eylandt Manatus* itself and *Hilla Gat;* but as the fort and its windmills are indicated so doubtless would the church have been had it stood when the drawing was made.

On Staten Island Kieft established a buckskin factory and what is said to have been the first distillery in North America,

certainly the first in New Netherland. In 1641 he ordered that two annual fairs should be held at New Amsterdam on the Plain in front of the fort, one in October for live stock of all kinds, one in November for swine. In the same year he tried, as the Twelve Men had requested, to regulate by ordinance the local currency.

Coin being excessively scarce in the province, 'merchandise' was accepted in other transactions as well as in mere bartering while 'beavers' (dried beaver skins) passed current and soon formed the local standard of value, and wampum was the customary medium of exchange. The growing demand for wampum tempted the Indians to make the beads carelessly and the English at the east end of Long Island to dye the white ones black that their value might be doubled and to counterfeit them with beads of stone, bone, glass, horn, wood, and mussel-shell. The savages, better judges of their own money than the whites, rejected even the genuine when it was not perfect; but, as Kieft's ordinance explained, the 'rough unpolished stuff,' often broken and unstrung, was brought to his town and passed off at fifty per cent more than its value while

> . . . the good polished sewan, commonly called Manhattan sewan, is wholly put out of sight or exported which tends to the ruin and destruction of this country.

Therefore all persons were forbidden under penalty of 'ten guilders for the poor' to pay out or to receive unpolished sewan except at the rate of six beads for a stiver. 'Well-polished sewan' was to remain at its former value, four beads to a stiver. In all cases, it was prescribed, the beads must be properly strung. This was New York's first monetary law.

Early in the sixteenth century William Hawkins laid the foundation for the slave trading of the English; and the coat of arms of his more famous son John, knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1566, bore three gold coins with a black man 'bound and a captive' as the crest. It is commonly said that negroes were first introduced into the English colonies by a

Dutch ship which carried a score of them to Virginia in 1619, but it is possible that this ship was commissioned by Englishmen, probable that negroes had been taken to Virginia before it arrived. Two decades later even the northern colonies wanted negro slaves, for reasons which Emanuel Downing explained in a letter to his brother-in-law Winthrop, whom by this time he had followed to Massachusetts. A just war with the Narragansett Indians might be advisable, he said, first because it was possibly a sin to suffer the savages to continue their worship of the devil, and secondly because if the Lord should deliver red men, women, and children into the Englishmen's hands they could be exchanged for 'Moors,' and this would be very 'gainful pillage' as it was hard to see how the whites could thrive until they got slaves enough to do all their work,

> . . . for our children's children will hardly see this great continent filled with people, so that our servants will still desire freedom to plant for themselves, and not stay but for very great wages. And I suppose you know very well how we shall maintain twenty Moors cheaper than one English servant.

The Dutch West India Company, which gradually got control of the slave trade on the coasts of Africa, set blacks by the thousand at work in the sugar plantations of Brazil. In spite of repeated promises it sent only a few to Governor Kieft's province. Almost all of these were kept as the Company's property and hired out upon occasion to individual settlers. It was probably for the Company's account that in 1636 Van Twiller had paid forty guilders apiece for three negro men.

As no special ordinances were ever passed in New Netherland for the management of slaves they must have been tractable. They appear to have been kindly treated, and in 1644 Kieft manumitted nineteen men with their wives because they had faithfully served the Company for eighteen years or more. These freedmen were put on 'the same footing as other free people here,' and were allotted from three to nine

morgens of land apiece upon a promise to pay as an annual tax a certain proportion of their crops and, if required, to work for the Company 'at fair wages.' All their children, however, including those 'yet to be born,' were to be held as slaves — a singular arrangement which, said the *Remonstrance of New Netherland* five years later, was 'contrary to all public law.'

The West India Company did not even promise to send out, except to the patroonships, persons bound to serve others for a certain time 'for board and clothing only.' The few indented servants who came in other ways into the other parts of the province appear to have been bound for very short periods. The indentures of two Englishmen whom Captain De Vries brought in covered only a single year.

The need of Massachusetts for servants of both sexes soon tempted it, not only to export Indian captives in exchange for negroes, a practice sanctioned by a law of 1646, but to enslave them on the spot. After Block Island was swept by the Puritan torch in 1636, Winthrop writes, forty-eight women and children sent to Boston were disposed of to different persons, and some who ran away and were brought back by neighboring Indians were then branded on the shoulder. After the Pequot War, he wrote to Governor Bradford, the prisoners were divided between Connecticut and Massachusetts, the male children were shipped to Bermuda, the women and girls 'disposed about in the towns.' The Massachusetts code of 1641, called the Body of Liberties, formally sanctioned this enslavement of 'lawful captives taken in war.' They were also bestowed as gifts upon red men of other and more friendly tribes.

In the Dutchmen's province a few Indian slaves were introduced from foreign parts and two governors saw fit to export a few captives in a time of war; but to keep or to sell the natives of the soil as slaves was never sanctioned by law, by custom, or by public opinion.

Docile servants though they seem to have been, the half-savage negroes in New Netherland added, of course, more

than their share to its list of sins and crimes. With the worthy English immigrants came many bad ones — so many doubtful characters from Virginia and New England, chiefly runaway bond-servants, that Governor Kieft forbade any resident to harbor a stranger for more than a single night without informing the authorities. Rough and mutinous sailors were often troublesome. And as the residents had introduced the tongues, habits, and temperaments of many different nationalities, and were most of them penniless when they arrived, it can easily be believed that New Amsterdam was not at this period a virtuous little town.

Drunkenness was everywhere the great sin of the Dutch. A careful English observer, Sir William Temple, fancied that in their fatherland much drinking might conduce to 'the vigor and improvement of their understandings in the midst of a thick foggy air.' In a frontier village with a brisk and stimulating air no such excuse for drinking could be invented; and of course it led to many misdeeds. One of Kieft's ordinances said that 'many accidents' were caused by quarrels in 'low taverns and groggeries' and, copying a law recently enacted in Holland, prescribed that any one drawing a knife in anger should pay a fine of fifty guilders or serve three months 'with the negroes in chains.'

In 1641 nine negroes belonging to the Company confessed to the killing of another. As justice did not sanction the sacrifice of nine lives for one a single culprit was chosen by lot to be hanged. The doom fell upon 'Manuel the Giant.' When he was swung off from the gallows the 'two strong halters' broke. All the bystanders cried 'Mercy!' and the governor relented. Three years later he named this self-same giant among the nineteen worthy slaves whom he then manumitted. Another negro convicted of 'a crime condemned of God as an abomination' was choked to death and then 'burned to ashes'; and in 1639 a white man was 'shot as a mutineer.' These executions were legal, for the West India Company had not repeated in its recent regulations the original order of the States General that all crimi-

nals convicted of capital offences should be sent back to Holland.

Other mutineers were 'transported beyond seas,' undoubtedly to be worked as slaves in the West Indies. 'Improper conduct' with women was a frequent offence, varying from the blackest crimes of the sort to words and actions of which the law does not now take cognizance. Thievery was common but on a very small scale. Next in frequency to drunkenness was the use of slanderous or scurrilous language. Sometimes it was severely punished: once a man and his wife were banished from the province as 'public disturbers and slanderers.' Much more often it was punished by a small fine or the order to beg pardon on bended knees of God and the court; yet these were penalties severe enough, for to be called 'Turk, rascal, and horned beast,' or to be charged — as was Annetje Jans, the preacher's wife — with lifting one's petticoats too high in crossing the street, are fair samples of the insults which provoked New Netherlanders to drag the offender before the bar of justice. It should be noted, however, that the court at Fort Amsterdam was a court of conciliation as well as of justice in our sense of the term, and that to appeal to it did not involve the payment of lawyers' fees. There were no lawyers in Kieft's town. Every defendant spoke on his or her own behalf, and so did the plaintiff whether he was the public prosecutor or a private individual.

It is impossible, of course, to estimate from fragmentary court records the degree to which vice and wickedness prevailed in early New Amsterdam. Other testimonies are few and are not unanimous. Secretary De Rasières, for instance, wrote in 1628 in his letter to Blommaert that the Plymouth people gave the Indians 'the example of better ordinances and a better life' than did the Dutch, and that they 'spoke very angrily' when the savages told them how 'barbarously' the Dutchmen lived as regarded 'fornication and adultery'; but in the same year Domine Michaelius wrote to his friend Smoutius that although his parishioners were 'somewhat rough and loose' they were mostly 'good people' and respect-

ful to their minister. In Director Kieft's time also those who broke his ordinances were for the most part loose and rough rather than boldly vicious. Crimes of violence were evidently few, for so little fear was felt of ruffians black, red, or white that no night-watchmen guarded the town; and the Calvinistic insistence that even what we now consider small private sins were offences to be publicly punished implies a commendable regard for decency. New Amsterdam can never have been nearly as lawless and wicked as some of its modern analogues, the isolated mining and trading stations of our Far Western wilderness. And if it be compared with the contemporary English settlements, even with Boston which tried to keep itself as pure from strains of foreign blood as from heretical opinions, the result is not altogether in its disfavor.

With more or less discretion every one drank intoxicating drinks at this period, water being the only alternative; tea, coffee, and chocolate were all unknown until near the end of the century. Rum was one of the chief articles that the Plymouth people offered in barter with Governor Minuit's people. When De Vries held up as a model to his fellow-colonists the temperance of the English on the Connecticut he did not mean that they never drank; he said that they

> . . . live soberly, drink only three times at a meal, and whoever drinks himself drunk they tie him to a post and whip him as they do thieves in Holland.

Massachusetts did not permit itself to be troubled in its early days by such dubious refugees from other colonies as New Netherland received; and it was much more active in driving beyond its borders its own unsatisfactory inhabitants, banishing some without specific accusations, saying merely that they were 'not fit to live with us.' Thus it reduced in number its criminals and sinners as well as its advocates of free thought and free speech. Yet Governor Winthrop lamented that 'the swinish sin of drunkenness' much prevailed and that 'as people increased' other forms of wickedness abounded and especially the sin of uncleanness. Slander,

contentiousness with the tongue, the fist, and the cudgel, gambling, profanity, thievery, adultery, and unmentionable crimes — with all these the lawmakers and magistrates of the Bay Colony were concerned; and the records of New Haven indicate that the last-named were probably more common there than in New Netherland.

De Vries was shocked by the prevalence of gambling among the Virginians, who played away even their bond-servants, and told them that he had 'never seen such work in Turk or barbarian.' Also, he charged them with a general dishonesty that he did not attribute to the New Netherlanders despite their fondness for illicit fur trading. The English in Virginia, he wrote, were very hospitable but were so far from being 'proper persons to trade with' that one had to be watchful or he would be 'struck in the tail.' If they could deceive any one they counted it 'a Roman action' or boasted of playing 'an English trick.' If any one did trade in Virginia he should

> . . . keep a house there and continue all the year, that he may be prepared when the tobacco comes from the fields to seize it if he would obtain his debts.

It was thus that the Virginians did among themselves, the captain explained. In a less judicial mood he wrote on another page that the English, whom he had known in the East and West Indies as well as on the American mainland, were a 'villainous people' who would 'sell their own fathers for servants on the islands.'

Under heavy penalties the laws of Massachusetts forbade dancing in public inns even at weddings, 'unprofitable fowling,' all kinds of games, and the taking of tobacco publicly. Those of New Amsterdam said merely that no form of amusement, like no form of work, should be indulged in before, during, or between service hours on the Sabbath. Many other marks of difference help to show that New Amsterdam supplied a better soil than a Puritan community for the growth of the gracious plants called hospitality and cheerfulness. It

also supplied a less congenial soil for the weeds hypocrisy and perjury. Roger Williams pointed out how these weeds were fostered and forced by the laws which in Massachusetts and New Haven made orthodox opinions a test for full rights of suffrage; and, writing to the Reverend John Cotton, Sir Richard Saltonstall said:

> This your practise of compelling any in matters of worship to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded is to make them sin . . . and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment.

'Better be hypocrites than profane persons,' wrote Cotton in reply. This was not the Dutch point of view. Nor was it the Dutch practice to interfere in matters of conscience and private belief.

In all countries there were many persons at this period and in some there were sects that advocated religious toleration; in England congregations of foreign refugees had received special permission from the crown to enjoy their own forms of discipline and worship as native nonconformists might not; and in France the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, gave the Huguenots political rights and in a few specified cases religious privileges. But Holland and the Turkish empire were the only European states that sanctioned that general toleration which now prevails in all really civilized lands and in one or two has borne the perfected fruit of full religious liberty. As the world owes constitutional government to the English revolution, says Lord Acton, federal republicanism to the American revolution, and political equality to the French revolution and its successors, so to the Dutch revolution it owes religious liberty.

In seventeenth-century Holland, it need hardly be explained, religious liberty and equality in our modern American sense did not exist; there was an established Calvinistic church which the people at large were taxed to support, no other church was officially recognized, and the toleration of

others was often opposed. Yet such toleration was established by one of the articles of the Treaty of Union between the provinces, and it continued to prevail even more widely in practice than in theory. Protestants of all sorts had political rights and privileges of private worship, even the poor and humble Anabaptists who were bitterly persecuted everywhere else. Although after the conclusion of the truce with Spain in 1609 Catholics were still excluded from public office they were permitted to have large churches if by making them look like houses outside they respected the letter of the law enacted during the life-and-death conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism. And although the law gave the Jew no rights he also found in the Republic a safe asylum and worshipped there privately in peace. Moreover, the clergy even of the orthodox church were excluded from political office and only in one province had any visible political power; only in Utrecht, and there as landed proprietors, were they represented in the provincial assembly.

During the famous ten years' struggle of the Calvinists to cast the Arminians out of the established church Holland still remained the most tolerant country in Europe. This struggle, as has been told, was in its essence political. The great leader of the Arminians, John of Barneveld, was condemned to death on political not on ecclesiastical charges; and the punishments meted out to others when the international Synod of Dort decided against the Arminians were mild indeed compared with those that followed upon ecclesiastical victories in other lands. Many Arminian ministers were banished, and all nonconformists were forbidden publicly to preach or to teach. But the ban was soon removed, and thereafter Arminians enjoyed the same tacit rights of semi-public worship as other schismatics. In spite of the great diversity of opinion in the Republic, wrote Bishop Burnet, during a visit he made in the year 1664 he found 'much peace and quiet'; and he attributed the fact to 'the gentleness of the government and the toleration that made all people easy and happy.'

The Amsterdam classis of the Reformed Church was the

ecclesiastical head of the church in New Netherland as in other Dutch colonies, sending out ministers and comforters of the sick at the request of the West India Company, of congregations lacking pastors, or of the patroon who in 1642, as he wrote to Governor Kieft, secured for Rensselaerswyck a 'very pious and experienced minister,' Domine Megapolensis, who, he hoped, would be blessed by the Lord in his work 'among the dissolute Christians and blind heathen.' Megapolensis, who in after years was a conspicuous figure on Manhattan, was now thirty-nine years old. His contract pledged him to serve at Rensselaerswyck for six years on an annual salary for the first three of 1100 guilders, half to be paid from Holland, half on the spot in necessaries, food, and clothing; he was also to get an allowance of wheat and of butter, and after the end of the three years 1300 guilders. He preached his first sermon at Rensselaerswyck to about one hundred persons.

The secular head of the colonial church was the West India Company which reserved to itself rights of presentation and the power to determine ecclesiastical conditions. It first expressed its wishes in this direction in the regulations of 1638, saying:

> Religion shall be taught and practised there according to the Confession and formularies of union here publicly accepted, with which everyone shall be satisfied and content, without, however, it being inferred from this that any person shall hereby in any wise be constrained or aggrieved in his conscience, but every man shall be free to live up to his own in peace and decorum provided that he avoid frequenting any forbidden assemblies or conventicles, much less collect or get up any such. . . .
>
> Each householder and inhabitant shall bear such tax and public charge as shall hereafter be considered proper for the maintenance of clergymen, comforters of the sick, schoolmasters, and such like necessary officers. . . .

The Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640 laid no emphasis upon liberty of conscience and prescribed no ecclesiastical assessments, saying succinctly:

No other religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland excepting the Reformed as it is at present preached and practised by public authority in the United Netherlands; and for this purpose the Company shall provide suitable preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick.

In short, liberty of conscience was granted in New Netherland while the state church of its fatherland was there established and the local government was empowered to forbid the public exercise of any other form of worship. The last-named provision, however, remained a dead letter in Governor Kieft's province; no form of religious worship was forbidden.

These arrangements, more liberal than any European government except the Dutch would then have countenanced, did not mean, be it repeated, what we now call religious freedom. This existed as yet only in the newly born plantations of Rhode Island. Even Domine Michaelius, who wanted to separate ecclesiastical from secular affairs in New Amsterdam, would not have maintained, like Roger Williams, that a state church was an abomination and that between state and church there should be no point of contact. On the other hand no typical Dutchman can have understood the spirit of New England, a spirit briefly expressed by Nathaniel Ward when he wrote in his *Simple Cobbler of Aggawam* that two of the things his heart naturally detested were 'foreigners dwelling in my country' and 'toleration of divers religions or of one religion in segregant shapes.' Incomprehensible to a New Netherlander must have been the action of the synod of Massachusetts when, in 1637, it carefully tabulated eighty heretical, erroneous, and unsafe opinions as held by the people of the colony — twice as many as the Catholic church had condemned Martin Luther for teaching.

It was upon a basis of toleration that Maryland was successfully founded, by a Catholic proprietor who even if he had so desired could not have attempted to make of an English a Catholic colony. But much nearer to the Puritan than to the Dutchman stood the orthodox Englishman of the time. As early as 1632 the assembly in Virginia laid penalties on all

who might dissent from the Anglican church as there established; and in 1644 it passed a law requiring conformity to the Book of Common Prayer which effected the dispersion of the dissenting congregations that had been formed in the province.

In the eyes of the New Netherlanders even a priest of Rome was a man to be helped and comforted in distress and admired for missionary zeal. In the year 1642 when the famous French Jesuit, Isaac Jogues, the first missionary sent from Canada among the dreaded Iroquois, was captured by the Mohawks young Arendt Van Corlaer of Rensselaerswyck tried to rescue him, making with two companions a long journey on horseback to his place of detention. The Indians refused the offer of a ransom of six hundred guilders' worth of goods — 'to which,' Van Corlaer wrote Van Rensselaer, 'all the colony will contribute' — but promised to spare the priest's life. In 1643 they brought him to the shore of River Mauritius. Urged by Van Corlaer, helped by a Dutch skipper, and befriended by Domine Megapolensis he escaped, secreted himself for weeks, and at last, when the Mohawks consented to exchange him for a great ransom, was brought by Kieft's order to Manhattan. Megapolensis and other friends accompanied him down the river, Kieft fed him at his own table, supplied him with 'black clothes and all things needful,' and gave him free passage home. At New Amsterdam, he afterwards reported, he met only two persons of his own faith, an Irishman and a Portuguese woman, but the people all flocked to see him, deeply lamenting his misfortunes, and some of them embarrassed his humble soul by their passionate sympathy. A Polish Lutheran, falling at his feet and kissing the fingers that torture had mutilated, with streaming eyes exclaimed: 'Martyr of Christ! Martyr of Christ!'

Soon afterwards the life of another Jesuit, Father Joseph Bressani, was saved in a similar way. He also was brought to Manhattan where Kieft allowed him to administer the rites of his church to his co-religionists, and issued a procla-

mation recommending him to the Christian charity of all Dutch officials whom he might meet on his journey back to Europe. In Massachusetts it was then a punishable offence to say that the Catholic was a Christian church. In 1647 the general court ordered that if a Jesuit or popish priest who was not an accredited envoy were brought within its jurisdiction by shipwreck or other accident he should depart at once, that any who might come of his own free will should be banished or otherwise punished and if he repeated the offence should be condemned to death, and that suspected papists should be arrested and examined.

Although Father Jogues, it may be added, reached France in safety he returned to his labors among the Iroquois and perished at their hands in 1646 — the first of the Catholic missionaries martyred on the soil of New York.

The last execution for witchcraft in Holland took place in 1610. To the New Netherlanders thirty years later the belief in witches so firmly held in New England must have seemed as unwarrantable as to the New Englanders appeared the faith of the Canadians in the miracles exploited by their Jesuit and Sulpitian shepherds. The one and only sign of the delusion that was so closely connected with the hatred of heresy to be found in the annals of the Dutch province is a fear expressed by Governor Kieft that the Indian medicine-men were directing their incantations against himself.

Again, in New Netherland self-righteousness and morbid curiosity were not stimulated by law as they were in Massachusetts where magistrates had the right to pry, and to depute others to pry, into the details of family life. There was none of that delving in the substrata of other people's souls which tempted even John Winthrop to prurient thought, leading him to believe and to record things with which we forget that he concerned himself because the pages that tell about them cannot be reproduced in modern books. Reading the chronicles of New Netherland one cannot fancy it the scene of such episodes of mingled intolerance, superstition, and indecency as those in which Winthrop most prominently

figured when magistrates and elders sought to demonstrate the schismatic iniquity of Mrs. Dyer the Quakeress and Mrs. Hutchinson the Antinomian by proving that they had given birth to monstrous infants.

Civil marriage was customary in New Netherland but there was no prejudice against the ecclesiastical ceremony as there was in New England. Records of both kinds of marriages were kept. As we have them they begin with the year 1639.

In Holland the public schools, primary and secondary, which in Protestant times replaced the old church and cathedral schools were established by law, as they were not in England, and were supported from the general public revenue. They were true public schools — 'the common property of the people,' writes Motley, 'paid for among the municipal expenses.' They were free to all and were frequented in democratic fashion by the children of the well-to-do and of the poor and by girls as well as boys. At the very first and often again as the years went by the West India Company pledged itself to supply its province with such schools. It did not wholly ignore these promises but never adequately fulfilled them, and the colonists loudly complained of the fact. In the promises as in the complaints the minister and the schoolmaster are bracketed together as public officials of equal importance although neither the one nor the other had any concern with political or judicial affairs. Schoolhouses are referred to in the people's petitions as public buildings of prime necessity.

Until 1639 Adam Roelantsen remained the master of the official school which was set up when Governor Van Twiller arrived and was evidently an elementary school. Jan Stevensen succeeded him. There was then at least one private school on Manhattan. In this each pupil paid annually two beaver skins. By 1643 the people had raised a fund for a public schoolhouse which appears to have been placed in the hands of Governor Kieft.

In New England as in England much less public attention was paid to elementary than to advanced schools. Harvard

College was founded in 1636, three years after the Jesuit college at Quebec and as distinctly for theological purposes. To prepare pupils to enter it was the chief task of the first school established in Boston, by order of town-meeting, in 1635; and this school, perpetuated in the Boston Latin School, remained for half a century the only public school in the largest of American towns. The first Massachusetts school law, enacted in 1642, did not order the establishment of schools but simply the teaching of reading to children and apprentices by heads of families 'or others.' The more famous law of 1647 was provoked by the decay of learning in the colony where immigration from England had virtually ceased — by the lack of persons competent to hold positions requiring education. The general court then ordered that each town of one hundred householders should maintain a grammar school to fit boys for college, naming definite penalties for non-performance; and without mention of penalties it said that each town of fifty households should designate a master to teach reading and writing to the children 'who should resort to him.'

In Plymouth there was no public school for fifty-two years after the founding of the colony, during which time it had spread into twelve villages. The first that was established, in 1672, was a Latin school. In Connecticut the first educational move of the general court was to try to get money for Harvard College. Its first school law was not passed until 1650. Hartford established a town school in 1642, the other towns apparently not until later years.

The term 'free school,' it may be explained, meant at this time in England an endowed school where boys from certain families, or boys specially selected to be sent to college, got their education free or for less than the usual cost. Nor were the early New England schools free schools in our modern sense. They were maintained partly by the colony or the town from specified sources of revenue, partly, as Winthrop explains, by annual payments from the individuals benefited, these charges being 'either by voluntary allowance

or by rate of such as refused.' Only Indians were taught without charge. Again, girls were not admitted to any public school in Massachusetts until after the Revolution. They had to depend altogether upon home instruction, as seems to have been very largely the case with boys in their younger years.

All these facts have a significance deeper than that which attaches to them as facts in the history of education in America. They belong with many others which, as they gradually come to light, will show how much more democratic in spirit was New Netherland than any of the English provinces, always excepting Rhode Island whose place in the world was as a place of refuge for the radical, protestant, innovating spirits unwelcome or ill at ease in the neighboring colonies. In regard to one highly important engine in the work of democratizing the world, however, the Dutchmen's province lagged very far behind Massachusetts. A printing-press was set up at Cambridge in 1639. There was never one in New Netherland; there was none in New York until the year 1694.

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CHAPTER VII

THE INDIAN WAR

1643–1645

(Governor Kieft)

It is known to all right-thinking men here that the Indians have lived as lambs among us until a few years ago, injuring no one, affording every assistance to our nation. . . . The Director hath, by various uncalled-for proceedings, from time to time so estranged them from us and embittered them against the Dutch nation that we do not believe anything will bring them back unless the Lord God, who bends all men's hearts to his will, propitiate them. — *The Eight Men of New Amsterdam to the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. 1644.*

Eighteen languages were spoken among the four or five hundred people of different sects and nations at Fort Amsterdam. So, Father Jogues recorded, Governor Kieft had told him. Under the walls of the fort, he added, scarcely any one lived except 'mechanics who ply their trades,' but all the farmers and traders 'scattered here and there on the river above and below' resorted to the village to transact their business and their law affairs. The public records also bear witness to the presence of one or more individuals from almost a score of European lands. There were already living or tarrying on Manhattan Dutchmen and Flemings, Walloons and Frenchmen, Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, with some Englishmen and an occasional Scotchman, Irishman, German, Pole, Bohemian, Portuguese, and Italian. No Spaniards can be identified. The term *Norman* or *Noorman*, which often occurs, meant a Scandinavian (Northman) while *Normand* meant a Norman in our sense of the word.

The names of many of these pioneer New Netherlanders are still well known in New York. Some have already been mentioned — Rapelye, Bergen, Bogart, Bogardus, De Forest, Van Dyck, Ver Planck, Opdyck, Kierstede, La Montagne, Ogden, and Cornell. Others introduced by the time of Governor Kieft were Hardenberg, Hendricks, De Witt, Duryea, Provoost, Wynkoop, De Kay, Snedeker, Blauvelt, Meserole, Riker, Coster, Van Vorst, Duyckinck, Wendell, Brinckerhoff, and Cowenhoven; and among those of English origin Valentine, Lawrence, Townsend, Thorne, and Underhill. A few of the first American bearers of these names were men of good birth and education but most of them had been farmers, artisans, or sailors at home and were described as 'wholly without means' on their arrival in the New World.

Of course good birth is not disproved by the fact that a man came penniless to America and worked here in some fashion which in Europe was thought ignoble. On the other hand, men of lowly birth as well as lowly occupation could achieve prominence in New Netherland. For example, Govert Lockermans, according to the testimony of Secretary Van Tienhoven, came in 1633 as cook's mate on one of the Company's vessels and was taken by Van Twiller into the Company's service as clerk but soon became a 'freeman.' Then he served as skipper of the first regular packet-boat plying between New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, took charge of the business of a firm in Holland, traded on his own account, and in after years was one of the richest men in the province and one of the few whose name sometimes appears on the records with the respectful *Heer* (Mr.) prefixed.

It is also well to remember, when the forefathers of New York are in question, that neither the early use of a coat of arms nor the bearing of a sonorous surname with the particle *van* or *de* testified to aristocratic lineage.

Feudal customs did not bequeath to the Netherland provinces as perfectly developed, rigidly persistent a social system as to other parts of Europe. While they were under Spanish

rule titles were bestowed by various overlords but family devices were not regulated. Under the Republic no titles were conferred and the old nobility lost power and prestige, everywhere almost 'extinguished,' Sir William Temple wrote, during 'the long wars with Spain,' and shorn of influence by the upgrowth of a burgher aristocracy graduated from the walks of trade. Therefore at the time when New Netherland was settled few Hollanders had an inherited right to use armorial bearings; and this fact made it seem permissible to those who cared for such trappings to adopt, as they grew prosperous in the New World, coats of arms with whatever devices they might select. In regard to names conditions were just as free and were more confused.

Amid the masses of the population hereditary surnames scarcely existed as yet. The common usage was the same that still prevails among the immigrants who come to us from Scandinavia. To the Christian name was added merely the father's with a suffix meaning son — *zoon* or *zen* (abbreviated in writing to *z.*), *sen*, *se*, or *s*. A William who was the son of a John was Willem Janszoon (Jansz.), Janssen, Jansen, or Jans, while his son John was Jan Willemsen, subject to as many variations. Thus the son of Roelof and Annetje Jans was known as Jan Roelofsen, and Sarah, the eldest daughter of Joris Rapelje (the first-born daughter of New Netherland), was sometimes called Sarah Joresey. As the years went on, these patronymics often became permanent surnames: Jansen or Willemsen was established, like Johnson or Williamson among the English, as the family name. Or, as confusions thus naturally arose, a more distinctive appellation was assumed or bestowed and was often attached to the patronymic by the particle *van* or *de*.

Although the Dutch *van* means 'of' it does not now, like the German *von*, denote noble or gentle birth, nor did it have this significance in the seventeenth century. While great Dutch landowners had often assumed it with the name of their estates so had the lessee of such an estate or of part of it, or even a minor tenant or servant — just as many of our own

negroes appropriated the surnames of their masters. Used with the name of a city, town, village, or district it served to distinguish some one who had moved from this place to another. The remarkable number, says Winkler, of names with *van* denoting foreign lands and places bears witness to the multitude of the strangers who settled in the Low Countries, and the equally large number of those denoting home localities shows how greatly the native population shifted as a result of the chances of war and of commercial development. The *van* was also used with a mere Christian name, with that of some landmark near a dwelling, and with characterizing epithets of many another sort. In later times it was sometimes assumed as a mark of gentility like the German *von* — and sometimes very illogically, as when it was set before a name which already had a prefix or suffix of the same meaning as its own. Furthermore, many noble families dropped their old names as well as their titles in republican times. When the Republic had come to an end, when the provinces formed part of the empire of Napoleon, the use of surnames was still so far from universal that the people were ordered to assume them in order to facilitate the keeping of what would now be called registers of vital statistics. And then some of the old families took new names while others resumed the old ones that they had discarded.

Thus it will be understood that in the Holland of to-day surnames have slight historical significance. Families of high and of low degree often bear the same name, with or without the *van*, and many noble names lack the particle while it frequently appears over the doors of shops and on hucksters' carts. It is the same with *ver*, as in Ver Planck, which is merely a contraction of *van der*, 'of the.'

Still less significance as a mark of high birth had the *de* in Netherland names. Even the French *de* lacked its present value until Louis XIV ennobled it, so to say, at a later time than the birth-time of New Netherland. And the rôle of the Dutch *de*, which means not 'of' but 'the,' has always been simply to attach to the Christian name or patronymic some

identifying nickname or geographical adjective. So it is, of course, with other prefixes like *ter* and *ten*, contractions meaning 'at the' or 'by the,' and with *op* which means 'on.' Thus De Wolf ('the wolf'), De Haas ('the hare'), De Meyer ('the farmer'), and De Ruyter ('the horseman'), to cite names well known in New York, are no more aristocratic in origin than Paauw ('peacock'), nor Vandervoort ('of the ford') than Gansevoort ('goose-ford'). The name of an early settler on Long Island, Pieter Andriessen De Schoorsteenveger, has a less grandiose sound when it is translated into Peter Anderson the Chimneysweep.

Among the Dutch and Flemish names that have survived in New York many were of Old World origin, most of them, like Van Dyck, Op Dyck, and Vam Dam ('of the dike,' 'on the dike,' and 'of the dam'), being common names in Holland. Very often, however, surnames were assumed on this side of the ocean, sometimes being used at first only in signing legal papers. In neither case does a likeness between an American name and one that now exists in the Netherlands afford proof of kinship.

Naturally many of the names here assumed denoted the bearer's place of birth. Some of these, like Van Amsterdam and De Swede, seem to have died out while others survive, like Van Antwerp and Van Wyck, the latter referring to a little town on a branch of the Scheldt. Many surnames brought to America or adopted here denoted trades. Bleecker is 'bleacher,' Coster is 'sexton,' Brower is 'brewer.' Knickerbocker, which Washington Irving established as a synonym for Dutch-American aristocracy, is properly Knickerbacker, a baker or burner of china knick-knacks. Latinized names were imported from the fatherland where they were assumed, very often, as a proof of university education. Such were the names of the three clergymen, Michaelius, Bogardus, and Megapolensis, transmogrified from Michielzoon or Michielsen, Bogert, and Mecklenburg. Nicknames, of course, grew up in numbers. For instance, the first bearer of a name now honorably known in many parts of America was a tailor

whose signature for years was Hendrick Hendricksen but afterwards Hendrick Hendricksen Kip — *kip* meaning a hen or the band that ties a bundle of dried fish.

These facts explain why it is that in the chronicles of New Netherland so many persons appear under different names. After Kip acquired his surname he was sometimes referred to as Hendrick Snyder Kip, *snyder* meaning tailor, and occasionally as Hendrick Op Kippenburg, Kippenburg being the name he gave his residence. Kuyter was commonly called simply Jochem Pietersen, and Captain De Vries, whose surname meant 'the Frieslander,' simply David Pietersen or occasionally David Pietersen Van Hoorn, Hoorn being his place of birth. The carpenter, Hans Hansen, who married Sarah Rapelje was variously labelled with identifying names, appearing in the records as Hans Hansen Noorman or De Noorman (the Norwegian), as Hans Hansen Van Bergen in Noorwegen, a form that fully described his birthplace, and more curtly as Hans Hansen Bergen. His descendants, who happen to be Bergens, might just as well have been De Noormans. Nicholas De Meyer who became a leading citizen in English times usually wrote his name N. D. Meijer (*ij* being used in Dutch as equivalent to *y*) but was sometimes written about as Nicholas Meyer Van Hamburg, sometimes as Nicholas Van Holstein or as Nicholas De Meijer Van Holstein. Cornelis Maessen, one of the tobacco planters whom Van Rensselaer sent to his colony in its early days, stood on the list of settlers as Cornelis Maessen Van Buermalsen. His son was known for a time as Martin Cornelissen but eventually adapted and adopted the name of his father's birthplace and transmitted it to his children's children. One of these in the fifth generation was the President of the United States, Martin Van Buren. Again, a certain Oloff Stevensen, possibly a Scandinavian as Oloff is not a Dutch name, came out in 1637 as a private soldier in the employ of the West India Company. A correspondent of Van Rensselaer's, he seems to have been an educated person. Kieft appointed him one of the first inspectors of tobacco; and, quickly ris-

ing through minor civil posts to be the Company's collector of customs and going into business on his own account as a brewer, he made himself one of the most influential men in the province, married a sister of Govert Lockermans, added Van Cortlandt to the two names that had sufficed him for many years, and founded a family which for generations played a leading part in New York. The Van Cortlandt coat of arms with its windmill sails seems to bear witness to its assumption by an ambitious New World brewer.

English surnames were by this time well established. They show few confusing variations except such as were wrought by Dutch pens dealing phonetically with unfamiliar sounds.

The most conspicuous Englishmen in New Netherland in the time of Governor Kieft were Isaac Allerton and John Underhill.

Allerton has already been mentioned as one of the early settlers at Plymouth. In fact, he was one of the chief of those who came on the *Mayflower* with the party from Leyden, one of the ten to whose names, on the list that Bradford drew up of these first emigrants to New England, he prefixed the 'Master' (Mr.) which denoted gentle birth. Yet Allerton had worked as a tailor at Leyden where he was admitted a freeman of the city. At Plymouth he served as assistant governor, was one of eight persons who assumed for a time the responsibility for the debt owed by the colony to its backers, and more than once was sent as its agent to England. Bradford accuses him of managing its affairs rashly or dishonestly, but the charges are not specific and are not sustained by other evidence. The most prosperous for a time of the Plymouth settlers Allerton was the first trader in New England who could rightly be called a merchant. Choosing the spot as the headquarters for his large fleet of fishing boats he was the founder of Marblehead. Commercial misfortunes overtaking him, in 1638 he removed to New Amsterdam where he stayed ten years, acting as consignee of the English

vessels that traded in the port and, in partnership with Govert Lockermans, growing prosperous again through coastwise ventures and the traffic in tobacco. His warehouse stood on the East River shore near the present site of Fulton Market.

John Underhill came of a Warwickshire family of military antecedents — the family from which William Shakespeare, when he grew prosperous, bought New Place, then the largest house in Stratford-on-Avon. He had served with credit in the army in the Low Countries, Ireland, and Spain, and had married a Dutch wife. The first person of his profession to find employment in New England, he was hired by the newborn Company of Massachusetts Bay at a salary of £50 a year, came out with Winthrop in 1630, drilled the militia of Boston and Roxbury, and commanded the Massachusetts contingent when the allied New Englanders crushed the Pequots. Of this war his tract called *News from America*, published in 1638 when he had gone back for a time to England, gives a more complete and a more picturesque account than does Gardiner's *Relation*.

Returning to Massachusetts Underhill, as Winthrop relates, was one of the half-dozen 'principal signers' of a petition on behalf of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson who 'stood to justify' it and were therefore deprived of their offices and disenfranchised. Other grievances the commonwealth had against him. Once it accused him of sin on two special counts: he had called its people Scribes and Pharisees and had said that he came to his 'assurance of salvation' while smoking a pipe of tobacco. Giving many dramatic details Winthrop tells furthermore of charges of seduction and adultery in answer to which Underhill publicly apologized with hypocritical tears; but it is hard now to judge of the degree of truth in these tales, for Underhill displeased the authorities by his advocacy of free speech as well as by his free ways of life, and, moreover, certain words were used by the Puritans in a sense that they do not now convey. In 1638, in the most amusing letter that has come down to us from Puritan days,

Underhill informed his friend Hansard Knowles that he had been 'convened' before Sir Henry Vane, then governor of the Bay Colony, Cotton, Hugh Peters, and others for committing 'a certain act of adultery' with one Mistress Miriam Wilbore — that is, for pointedly staring at her 'at the lecture in Boston.' The lady, he explained, had

> . . . since been dealt with for coming to that lecture with a pair of wanton open worked gloves, slit at the thumbs and fingers for the purpose of taking snuff. For, as Master Cotton observed, for what end should those vain openings be, but for the intent of taking filthy snuff? and he quoted Gregory Nazianzen upon good works.

Underhill, he confessed, had indeed stared at Mistress Wilbore but 'did not look at the woman lustfully.' Then

> Master Peters said, 'Why did you not look at Sister Newell, or Sister Upham?' I said, Verily they are not desirable women, as to temporal graces. Then Hugh Peters and all cried, 'It is enough, he hath confessed,' and so passed excommunication. I said, Where is the law by which you condemn me? Winthrop said, 'There is a committee to draught laws; I am sure Brother Peters has made a law against this very sin.' Master Cotton read from his Bible, 'Whoso looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.'

Evidently the free-spoken soldier had a sense of humor which may well have exasperated beyond the bounds of veracious comment those whom he pitied as 'proud Pharisees' seriously laboring 'about the mint and cummin.' To judge by his writings he was as pious as they; yet by his own confession his ways of living were loose; and so, as will appear, was his reading of the obligations imposed by an oath of allegiance.

Banished from Boston he figured for a time as the governor of Piscataqua (Dover). Ousted from this place and driven to a public acknowledgment of his transgressions at Boston, he secured forgiveness from its rulers but never lived under them again. In 1639, while he was at Dover, Governor Kieft

issued a permit to 'Governor Onderhill' who resided 'toward the north' and a few families, allowing them to settle in his province on the customary terms. Underhill, however, settled at Stamford in New Haven Colony where he must have been well esteemed as he served as commander of the local militia, assistant justice, and delegate to the general court. He did not appear on Manhattan until it sadly needed his help against Indian enemies.

The mixture of many nationalities on and near Manhattan bore natural fruit in a broadening of that democratic spirit which even in a purely Dutch community would have contrasted strongly with the spirit of the New England colonies, always excepting Rhode Island.

Although in these colonies there were many men of democratic temper and ideals, and although even the dominant spirit was republican as it expressed itself in outward political forms, it was for the most part oligarchical in the administration of such forms and aristocratic in essence. In Massachusetts all freeholders could attend town meeting and all had to pay taxes and to help in the support of the orthodox clergy, but the 'freemen' who were entitled to hold office and to vote for the governor and the members of the general court included none but adherents in good standing of the established Puritan church; and these, as the years went on, formed an ever decreasing minority until at the time of the Restoration, when Charles II wished the colony to abolish the religious test, not more than one in five or six of its adult males could vote. Moreover, many of its leading men explicitly expressed anti-democratic sentiments. One was John Cotton. One was Governor Winthrop who wrote that among most civilized nations democracy was 'accounted the meanest and worst form of government.' Another was Nathaniel Ward who framed the code called the Body of Liberties, adopted in 1641. He doubted, he wrote to Winthrop, whether such things should be submitted 'to the common consideration of the freemen.' Both commonwealth and

church, he thought, had perhaps 'descended too low already,' adding:

> I see the spirits of people run high and what they get they hold. They may not be denied their proper and lawful liberties, but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferior sort in that which should be reserved '*inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges.*'

New Haven also established religio-political tests; and while Plymouth did not, nor Connecticut except for the office of governor, neither granted the franchise except upon certificates of moral qualification.

In Virginia social distinctions were marked from the first and were emphasized by the advent of great numbers of bond-servants. As strong a line was not drawn in New England between the laborer and those of higher social standing yet great deference was paid to good blood, education, wealth, and the social position that these implied. In Massachusetts the right to be called 'Mr.' was reserved to those who by virtue of their birth could claim it in England, and to magistrates, ministers, and physicians; and it was formally taken away from any one who while holding it disgraced himself. In New Haven on a list of seventy freemen drawn up in 1639 'Mr.' was prefixed to eighteen names and 'Goodman' to six while the others had no prefix at all. Discriminating sumptuary statutes were frequently enacted in Connecticut and in Massachusetts where, says Winthrop of the year 1634, many laws were passed 'against tobacco and immodest fashions and costly apparel.' On the lists of Harvard College the students were ranked not alphabetically but according to their social standing; and this system, which conferred certain privileges on the socially elect, persisted until 1773. In New Haven as well as in Massachusetts seats in the meeting-house were allotted with scrupulous regard to the same principles of discrimination. In short, the 'gentry' and the 'generality' were clearly and officially differentiated. In Massachusetts especially all high offices were reserved to the gentry, and above this class again stood the clerical clique —

at the top in dignity and in authority although without official recognition of its preëminence. The spirit thus shown naturally resulted in *quasi*-permanent place-holding although it did not effect the creation of hereditary offices.

In New Amsterdam there were as yet no political privileges but there were no oligarchical restrictions, there was no aristocratic atmosphere; and, when political agitation began, the humblest free settler had as good a chance as his richer and better-born neighbors to make his voice heard and his influence felt and to win the prize of office. There was less civil liberty but more natural liberty. There were none but *ex officio* distinctions of rank and these, of course, did not amount to distinctions of class. No sumptuary laws were ever thought of, and no ordinances concerned themselves with forms of address or with social questions of any sort. Persons who were addressed in Holland as *Heer* or *Sieur* were sometimes so denominated in public papers; but no rule was followed, and the same terms were soon occasionally bestowed, without any regard to Old World antecedents, upon men who by their own efforts had raised themselves in the New World above the level of the mass of their fellows. The ex-cook Govert Lockermans is an instance in point.

Only a Dutch colony could contentedly have become so cosmopolitan in blood that all class distinctions of necessity disappeared. The New Englanders must have thought that a mixed and unstratified population like New Amsterdam's could never mould itself into a coherent, promisingly vital community. Yet race antagonisms among its white inhabitants seem to have played no part at all in its troubles until, at a later day than Governor Kieft's, the desire of the English to secure the province for themselves grew strong.

Although no people surpassed the Dutch in the love of liberty and none had kept pace with them in securing its best fruits, they were not as well practised as the English in formulating liberal political ideas and principles. The settlers near Fort Amsterdam troubled themselves little about the

government which they had pledged themselves to obey until they realized that it limited their personal freedom and injured their corporate welfare. Then, through their Twelve Men, they asked for a share in its management. The request came to nothing, but fair promises from Governor Kieft, peace with the Indians, and increasing prosperity quieted endeavor for a while. When fresh troubles came a more emphatic demand soon followed.

This moment was not long delayed. Soon after peace was concluded with the Wechquaeskecks at the house of Jonas Bronck in 1642, Kieft and his people were alarmed by a report that Miantonomi, the ambitious chief of the Narragansetts, was urging all the savage tribes to unite in a general attack on the Dutch and the English; and they knew, moreover, that the embers of local strife had not been effectually quenched. Captain De Vries tells how the revengeful passions of the Indians smouldered, how individual white men fanned them with fresh provocations, and how he warned both sides of the inevitable result. Early in 1643 a drunken Indian, exasperated by some real or fancied injury, shot a Dutchman at Hackensack who was thatching a barn. His sachems were afraid to approach Governor Kieft, and when they ventured to do so under De Vries's protection Kieft refused their offer of blood-money and, as in the case of the Wechquaeskecks, demanded the surrender of the culprit. The sachems promised to try to deliver him but laid the blame for the crime upon the persons who made their young men 'crazy' by selling them liquor.

Meanwhile the savages had fallen to fighting among themselves. Eighty or ninety Mohawks, says De Vries, 'each with a gun on his shoulder,' came down River Mauritius to take tribute from the Wechquaeskecks and their brother Algonquins who lived at Tappaen where the captain's new bouwerie lay. Some of these River Indians, less warlike and less well armed than the Mohawks — timid 'children' the captain calls them — fled hungry and half frozen to New Amsterdam. There the settlers received them kindly and harbored them

for a fortnight. Others, to the number of four or five hundred, flocked to De Vries's bouwerie where he had only five white men with him. He was not afraid that they 'would do any harm' but wishing to be 'master in his house' asked Kieft to send him a guard of soldiers. Kieft refused. Then, excited by some fresh alarm, the Indians scattered from the bouwerie and from New Amsterdam, some going to Pavonia near the bluff opposite Manhattan now covered by the Stevens estate, some to Corlaer's Hook on the eastern shoulder of Manhattan itself.

On February 24th, while De Vries was sitting at table with the governor, Kieft 'began to state his intentions,' saying that he had a mind 'to wipe the mouths' of these fugitive Indians. Three members of the Board of Twelve Men, he explained, — Damen, Adriaensen, and Planck, — had presented a petition which Secretary Van Tienhoven had drawn up for them and which professed to speak for all the twelve. It advised the governor 'to begin this work' against the savages. De Vries told him that there was no reason for any work of the sort, and that he could not begin it without the consent of all the Twelve Men including himself:

> But it appeared that my speaking was of no avail. He had, with his co-murderers, determined to commit the crime, deeming it a Roman deed, and to do it without warning the inhabitants in the open lands so that each one might take care of himself against the retaliation of the Indians, for he could not kill all the Indians.

Perhaps some scheme for personal profit lay behind the action of the governor's 'co-murderers.' Three of them, Planck, Damen, and Van Tienhoven, were evidently close friends, their names appearing together in the records of several business transactions; and they were also connected by family ties, Planck and Van Tienhoven having married two of Damen's stepdaughters, the sisters of Jan Vinje.

At all events Kieft had made up his mind to follow their advice before he spoke to De Vries. When they had finished their meal he invited the captain into a 'large hall' which he had recently added to his house:

Coming to it, there stood all his soldiers ready to cross the river to Pavonia to commit the murder. Then spake I again to Governor William Kieft: 'Stop this work; you wish to break the mouths of the Indians but you will also murder our own nation for there are none of the farmers who are aware of it.'

Councillor La Montagne and Domine Bogardus joined in De Vries's prayers and warnings. Kieft knew that the evil spirits who were urging him to bloodshed had no right to speak for the Board of Twelve Men which he had dissolved a year before; and he ought to have known that it was just the moment when kindness would win the frightened Algonquins to a lasting friendship. Yet, shielding himself behind the fraudulent petition, and asserting that it expressed the wishes of the commonalty who were really for the most part wholly ignorant of his plans, he determined, as La Montagne put it, to build a bridge over which 'war would stalk through the whole country.' To one of his sergeants he gave a commission to take a troop of soldiers from the fort and 'to destroy all the Indians' at Pavonia, sparing the women and children 'as much as possible' but trying to capture them; and to Maryn Adriaensen he gave another to go 'with his men,' meaning a band of volunteers, to Corlaer's plantation and there to act toward the savages as he should 'deem proper.' Secretary Van Tienhoven and Govert Lockermans accompanied the second party. How both parties carried out their orders Captain De Vries relates:

So was this business begun between the 25th and 26th of February in the year 1643. I remained that night at the governor's sitting up. I went and sat in the kitchen when, about midnight, I heard a great shrieking and I ran to the ramparts of the fort and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing and heard the shrieks of the Indians murdered in their sleep. I returned again to the house by the fire. . . . When it was day the soldiers returned to the fort having massacred or murdered eighty Indians and considering they had done a deed of Roman valor in murdering so many in their sleep; where infants were torn from their mothers' breasts and hacked to pieces in the presence of the parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and other sucklings were bound to small boards and then cut, stuck,

and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. . . . Many fled from the scene and concealed themselves in the neighboring sedge, and when it was morning came out to beg a piece of bread and to be permitted to warm themselves, but they were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the water. . . .

After this exploit, De Vries continues, Kieft thanked the soldiers, shaking their hands and congratulating them. On the same night forty Indians were attacked in the same way at Corlaer's Hook and massacred 'as the Duke of Alva did in the Netherlands but more cruelly.' It was 'indeed a disgrace' to the nation ruled by the Prince of Orange who in his wars had always tried 'to spill as little blood as was possible.' Nor can it be thought that De Vries exaggerated the horrors of this winter night. Other documents as well as the *Remonstrance of New Netherland* support his account of it, and most of them fully indorse his censure of Kieft although some explain that the governor was deceived by Van Tienhoven.

At Corlaer's Hook there is now a waterside park where children of many nationalities peaceably play together. Here as at Pavonia the Algonquins and their children died in 1643 in the belief that the Mohawks had attacked them. For the moment many of the Dutchmen thought the same. Then, fearful of the revenge the savages might wreak, some of the Dutch settlers on Long Island asked leave to attack the Indians there who had always been friendly. Kieft gave orders not to molest them unless they showed enmity. But he had inspired in some breasts and unchained in others feelings of fear, cruelty, and cupidity that he could not control. Marauding parties of Dutchmen and Englishmen pillaged the deserted wigwams at Pavonia and even the farms of the inoffensive Long Island red men. These, deeply insulted, made common cause with the River Indians who burned to avenge their slaughtered brethren, and eleven tribes rose in open war, attacking the settlers who were thinly scattered from the Raritan River at the southwest to the Housatonic at the northeast, wasting the farms, killing the men, and

carrying off most of the women and children into the forest. All who escaped their sudden, stealthy onslaughts fled to the fort on Manhattan where Governor Kieft was still safely ensconced. Even De Vries's plantation at Tappaen was desolated. He himself was spared, with his house and the farmers who had taken refuge under its roof. This was his reward for saving the life of a savage who on the dreadful night of the massacre, thinking that the Mohawks were upon him, had sought shelter in Fort Amsterdam and who now induced his fellows not to attack the 'good chief' and his friends. Otherwise there was safety nowhere except up the river at Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck where the Mohawks and Mohegans had not risen.

Thoroughly frightened, Kieft proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer and hired all the settlers as soldiers for two months. As much alarmed as he and filled with rage against him, they threatened to depose him and to send him back to Holland. Then he tried to shift the blame for his wicked rashness upon the advisers who had professed to speak in the name of the commonalty. Maryn Adriaensen, doubly embittered by the wreck of his own plantation, hotly resented this meanness. Bursting into Kieft's presence pistol in hand, 'What devilish lies,' he cried, 'have you been telling of me?' He was seized, disarmed, and imprisoned. Learning of this, two of his followers hurried to the fort. One of them fired at the governor but missed him and was shot by a sentinel. For a warning his head was set upon the gallows. Nevertheless twenty or thirty other mutineers riotously demanded Adriaensen's release. Kieft declared that he should be fairly tried by a court composed of reputable colonists; but, as he reported to the West India Company, 'nobody was willing' to assist him and so he sent his prisoner to Holland to be dealt with there.

Against this dark background of terror, cruelty, and suffering the figure of Captain De Vries stands out brightly. He did not lose his courage, his patience, or his sympathy with the distressed white men on the one hand, the exas-

perated savages on the other. As soon as the Long Island Indians showed any sign of a desire for peace he went among them with a single companion and persuaded some of them to come, under his protection, into the presence of the hated governor. They trusted De Vries, they said, because they had never heard a lie from him and this was true of very few other white men. As a result of his wise and gentle counsels treaties of peace were signed in the midsummer of 1643 with the Long Island and Westchester tribes, the Hackensacks, and the Tappans.

Governor Winthrop did not deeply sympathize with his fellow-countrymen who suffered in these disasters for, as he wrote, they were persons who

> . . . had cast off ordinances and churches and now at last their own people and for large accommodation had subjected themselves to the Dutch. . . .

Winthrop's account of this war, like his other references to the affairs of New Netherland, is full of inaccuracies. For example, he says that Maryn Adriaensen attacked Governor Kieft because he was jealous of John Underhill whereas, in fact, Underhill had not yet shown himself in New Netherland. He also says that Roger Williams helped the Dutch to make peace with the Indians. No evidence supports this statement which has been reiterated a hundred times. Williams did, indeed, come to New Amsterdam in 1643 to take ship for Europe, wanting to secure a charter for Providence Plantations and forbidden by the authorities in Boston to embark at their port; and eleven years later he referred to the episode in a letter to these authorities, saying:

> Heretofore, not having liberty of taking ship in your jurisdiction, I was forced to repair unto the Dutch where mine eyes did see that first breaking forth of that Indian war which the Dutch begun, upon the slaughter of some Dutch by the Indians; and they questioned not to finish it in a few days, insomuch that the name of peace, which some

offered to mediate, was foolish and odious to them. But before we weighed anchor their bowries were in flames; Dutch and English were slain. Mine eyes saw their flames at their towns and the flights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland. . . .

These lines refer to another and a much worse season of disaster which followed close upon the treaties made by Captain De Vries. The savages were not satisfied with the words or the gifts of Governor Kieft, and their sachems, doubting that his ordinances against the selling of liquor would be obeyed, warned him that they might not be able to control the young braves who were 'continually crying for vengeance.' Yet when the fresh fire broke out the spark came from a distance. There was war among the Indians of the Connecticut Valley; the contagion spread into the upper valley of River Mauritius and southward along its banks; the Dutch were attacked in their vessels on the river, and by September New Amsterdam was again in deadly fear.

Then, as in 1641, Kieft begged for the aid of representatives of the people. Probably they doubted his good faith, for a petition signed by forty-seven persons including three Englishmen asked that he and his council should themselves appoint the members of the proposed board, the people to have the right of veto. Finally the people consented to elect a board of eight. Two of these Eight Select Men, Damen and Kuyter, had served among the Twelve Men. The others were four Netherlanders and two Englishmen — Barent Dircksen, Abraham Pietersen, Gerrit Wolfertsen, and Cornelis Melyn, Thomas Hall and Isaac Allerton. As their president they chose Melyn, the patroon of Staten Island. Their first act was to expel from their board Jan Jansen Damen who had signed the fraudulent petition in the name of the Twelve Men. In spite of his plea that he had been deceived into so doing by the governor's misrepresentations they put in his place Jan Evertsen Bout of Pavonia. Then they resolved that peace should be kept with the Long Island Indians, war should be declared against the River tribes. In

conjunction with the governor they set to work to arm and to drill the Dutch colonists and the West India Company's servants and to hire as soldiers fifty or more of the newly arrived English settlers who were all threatening to leave the province. Kuyter was put at the head of the Dutch force; and, through Isaac Allerton, John Underhill was induced to come from Stamford to command the Englishmen. All these burgher soldiers, English and Dutch, took an oath of fealty and devotion to the States General, the West India Company, and the governor and his council.

Before these preparations were completed the Wechquaeskecks broke loose beyond the Harlem River and murdered Anne Hutchinson and her household of sixteen, sparing only her little daughter, and some of the settlers on Throgmorton's and Cornell's plantations. When this was known in New England Thomas Hooker declared that the 'bare arm' of God displayed itself in the death of Mrs. Hutchinson, and Thomas Welde wrote:

> God's hand is the more apparently seen herein to pick out this woeful woman to make her and those belonging to her an unheard-of heavy example above others. . . .

Soon the flame of war burst out along the western shores of river and bay and upon Long Island. Here only Lady Deborah Moody's plantation was saved, her stout party of colonists beating off the attacks of the savages. Francis Doughty, the clergyman who had settled at Mespath, fled with his associates to New Amsterdam where he ministered for a time to his compatriots, the Dutch residents assisting them to support him. He was the first English clergyman who officiated on Manhattan.

Then the savages devastated Manhattan itself so that above the Kalck Hoek Pond only half a dozen bouweries remained and the inhabitants of these were in hourly fear of destruction. Many murders were committed by Indians purporting to come to warn the Christians. From all directions the people flocked into Fort Amsterdam. Their Eight Men advised

Kieft to turn to their use and defence the cargoes and crews of two Company ships which lay in the harbor ready to sail with provisions for Curaçoa. Cautious for once, and just when he should not have been, he said that he must obey the Company's orders; and the half-starved refugees saw the wheat that their own fields had produced carried out of their reach. The Eight Men also advised Kieft to hire a hundred and fifty soldiers in New England, to draw a bill upon the Company for the money wherewith to pay them, and as security to mortgage New Netherland to the New Englanders. Thereupon Underhill and Allerton were sent to ask at New Haven permission to recruit a hundred men to be 'led forth' by Underhill. As the confederacy called the United Colonies of New England had recently been formed, New Haven decided that it could not grant such a request without the consent of its allies. Moreover it doubted whether the Dutchmen's war were 'just.' It would do no more for them than promise to sell them food; and it vainly urged Underhill to remain at Stamford, offering him £20 'to prevent the snares of larger offers for his remove.' Of course Winthrop was mistaken when he wrote that the employment of Underhill was a plot of Governor Kieft's to engage the English in his quarrel with the Indians which they had 'wholly declined as doubting the justice of the cause.'

De Vries now risked his life again on an errand of mercy, going alone among the River Indians to redeem the child of one of his friends. He could no longer do anything for the colony at large. His own prospects in New Netherland were ruined, and he was glad of the chance to sail for Virginia as pilot of a Rotterdam herring-buss which had recently come from New England. Upon his departure, he relates,

> . . . in taking leave of William Kieft I told him that this murder which he had committed was so much innocent blood, that it would yet be avenged upon him, and so I left him.

And so, with a prophecy on his lips that soon was verified, Captain De Vries left New Netherland never to come back.

In 1644 he returned from Virginia to Holland by way of England. His last word upon New Netherland, written at this time, was that the directors of the Company were so jealous of each other that there might as well be no Company, but that if the land were free, as in Virginia,

> . . . and everything produced by labor out of the ground, millions would be returned and the land populated at once; there would be no want of cargoes of the productions of the earth as there is of peltries.

In the late autumn of the year 1643 the Eight Men drew up the first communications addressed by the people of New Netherland to the authorities in Holland — a *Memorial* to the Assembly of the XIX of the West India Company and another to the States General. The latter says in part:

> Almost every place is abandoned. We, wretched people, must skulk, with wives and children that still survive, in poverty together, in and around the fort at the Manahatas where we are not safe even for an hour whilst the Indians daily threaten to overwhelm us with it. Very little can be planted this autumn and much less in the spring; so that it will come to pass that all of us who will yet save our lives must of necessity perish next year of hunger and sorrow unless our God have pity on us. We are all here, from the smallest to the greatest, devoid of counsel and means, wholly powerless. The enemy meets with scarcely any resistance. The garrison consists of fifty or sixty soldiers, unprovided with ammunition. Fort Amsterdam, utterly defenceless, stands open to the enemy night and day. The Company hath few or no effects here (as the Director hath informed us); were it not for this, there would have been still time to receive assistance from the English at the East ere all were lost. But we, helpless inhabitants, are exceedingly poor. The heathens are strong in might . . . and are well provided with guns, powder, and ball, in exchange for beaver, by the private traders who for a long time have had free course here. The rest they take from our brethren whom they murder. In short, we suffer the greatest misery which must astonish a Christian heart to see or hear.
>
> We turn then in a body to you, High and Mighty Lords. . . . And should assistance not arrive (contrary to our expectations) we shall through necessity in order to save the lives of those who remain, be obliged to betake ourselves to the English at the East who would like nothing better than to possess this place. . . .

Thus had monopoly, paternal government, and the maladministration which meant a careless choice of executives borne their natural fruit. Thus, in less than a score of years, were almost literally fulfilled the predictions of Wassenaer when he wrote that if an 'executioner' should rule New Netherland, ordering its people 'as their superior' instead of guiding them 'as their friend and associate,' he would subvert and nullify everything and they would fly to the neighboring provinces.

In the Pequot War of 1637 the red men had had no fire-arms, and so harmless, relatively, were their arrows that although they wounded one in four of the New Englanders they killed only two men. It was a different thing to fight Indians armed as were those now threatening Manhattan. Moreover, while at the beginning of the year the commonalty had included five hundred men of fighting age now, says the *Memorial* of the Eight Men to the West India Company, the surviving population consisted 'mainly of women and children'; the freemen 'exclusive of the English' were only 'about two hundred strong' and were forced for the protection of their families to stay near the fort which was itself 'defenceless' and entirely out of repair, resembling 'rather a molehill than a fort against an enemy.' And as almost all the cattle were destroyed and the houses burned there was a dearth of food and of clothing for the unfortunates who were huddled in 'straw huts' outside the crumbling ramparts.

It was a point in favor of the whites that the Indians, although numerous, acted with little concert. It was a point against them that it was hard to come to blows with roving war-parties that fled into the forest at the approach of any organized force. Bands of soldiers and settlers whom Kieft despatched to Staten Island and beyond the Harlem accomplished scarcely anything. An expedition to Long Island, led by La Montagne with Kuyter in command of the Dutch and Underhill of the English contingent, did more effective work. Ensign Van Dyck, the commander of the garrison, appears to have been suffering at this time from a wound. But in February, 1644, when Underhill had ascertained that

a great body of Indians was gathered in a stockaded stronghold on Strickland Plain, not far from the Bedford Village of to-day, he and Van Dyck and about a hundred and fifty men went by water to Greenwich and, after a long day's march through a hilly country deep in snow, attacked the fort by moonlight, burned it, and almost exterminated its occupants, men, women, and children. It was like the burning and the slaughter of the Pequots in their fort near the Mystic River. Hundreds perished — 'some say full seven hundred,' declares the *Journal of New Netherland*. Only eight escaped. They cannot have been armed like the savages nearer New Amsterdam for they killed none of the white men and wounded only fifteen.

In March peace was again concluded with the Indians of this region and Long Island. As those who were prowling about on Manhattan and those beyond the North River refused to be pacified, Kieft ordered all persons who wished protection for such cattle as remained to them to join in building a 'good solid fence' which stretched across the island a little above the present line of Wall Street.

No help, not even in the way of supplies, had come from Holland — nothing except a bill for some 2500 guilders, drawn by Kieft on the Company, which was sent back protested. In January, when their troubles were at the worst, some of the chief men on Manhattan had equipped a privateer named *La Garce* and sent it to the West Indies to 'annoy the Spaniards' and, of course, to bring back what booty it could. In May it returned freighted with sugar, wine, tobacco, and ebony captured in a hot fight with two Spanish barks; but its cargo could not be utilized in any way until after due process of confiscation by a court of admiralty. Meanwhile a ship bound for Rensselaerswyck had entered the harbor, laden with goods sent by the patroon for his colonists. When the supercargo refused to sell Kieft fifty pairs of shoes for the soldiers the governor took them by force. Discovering then that the vessel carried a large supply of guns and ammunition — wares that none but the Com-

pany itself was permitted to send out or to sell — he confiscated both ship and cargo.

Declaring now that he was without money or resources and could not pay the enlisted Englishmen Kieft asked the Eight Men to permit him to impose an excise tax. Even the suggestion of such a thing, they said, ought to come from the Company, not from its deputy, and a better plan would be to tax the many wandering traders who were gathering riches in the province while the actual settlers were ruined. Kieft insisting, however, they reluctantly sanctioned his scheme, 'provisionally' until God should grant peace or a sufficient succor should come from Holland; and in June the director and council imposed an excise of one guilder on every beaver skin, of four stivers on each quart of Spanish wine and brandy and two stivers on each quart of French wine, to be paid by the tapster, and of two guilders on each half-barrel of beer, to be paid in equal parts by the brewer and the tapster, 'the burgher who does not retail it to pay half as much.'

In asking the consent of the Eight Men to these, the first internal taxes laid upon the people of the Dutch province, Kieft deferred to that principle of no taxation without representation which the people of the fatherland had forced their overlord Mary of Burgundy to recognize by the Great Charter of 1477. In the year when they were imposed upon New Netherland the first excise, as it chanced, was imposed in Massachusetts, a tax on liquors sold at retail.

During the month of June reënforcements reached Manhattan in an unexpected way. A band of Dutch soldiers and colonists from Brazil, where the West India Company was now meeting with reverses, had fled to Curaçoa. As the governor of this island, General Petrus Stuyvesant, was finding it hard to get food for his own troops and people, and as Kieft had asked him for aid, he sent the newcomers on to New Amsterdam. They came in the ship *Blue Cock* — about two hundred persons, three or four score of them soldiers. Kieft decided to dismiss politely the 'English aux-

iliaries,' billeted the soldiers on the settlers, and in August, to supply them with clothes, continued by edict without the consent of the Eight Men the tax provisionally laid on beer, increasing the rate and ordering the brewers to make returns to him of the amount of beer they manufactured. Thus getting its first chance to protest against arbitrary taxation, loudly New Amsterdam protested. The people denounced Kieft's illegal course and the brewers refused to pay the tax, saying that if they consented they would have the Eight Men and the commonalty about their ears — 'on their neck' runs the Dutch idiom. Kieft then summoned them before his court, pronounced judgment against them, and gave their beer 'a prize to the soldiers.'

The governor, it was charged against him, had now, including fifty Englishmen, more than four hundred and fifty men at his command, yet he did nothing but quarrel and domineer, prosecute persons who spoke against him, and try in pettifogging ways to keep order in and around Fort Amsterdam. As the farmers whose houses had been burned were afraid to return to their lands, and the soldiers were for the most part unemployed, idleness aided destitution to increase disorder and dissension. The English soldiers were accused of cowardice and their leaders of drunken brawling. According to the affidavits of several eye-witnesses, when Kuyter's house on the Muscoota Flats was burned — an arrow tipped with a blue flame 'coming at twenty paces from the house between the dunghill and the cherry door,' falling on the thatch, and in a violent wind immediately wreathing the house in flames — the English soldiers hid in the cellar and would not come out till the danger was past. As for their leaders, one evening when the landlord of the City Tavern was entertaining Domine Bogardus, Dr. Kierstede, and sundry other Dutchmen and their wives, Captain Underhill appeared with his 'lieutenant' George Baxter (the governor's English secretary) and Thomas Willett. Bursting the bolts and with their 'drawn swords' breaking the cans that hung on the shelves and hacking the posts and doors,

they treated the guests with gross insolence, Underhill crying to the minister, 'Clear out of here, for I shall strike at random.' Even when the sheriff was sent for they refused to obey his order to depart, so to prevent more trouble the guests themselves departed, taking their revenge by lodging with Governor Kieft a formal complaint against the brawlers.

In truth, evil conditions had inflamed bad passions of every sort. In earlier days Underhill had expressed for the savages a more Christian and pitiful feeling than the average New Englander felt; but after his success on Long Island he killed three of his red captives and brought two to New Amsterdam where they were barbarously tortured and slain in the street in the presence of many lamenting squaws. It was said that Governor Kieft and Councillor La Montagne watched this hideous performance with approval, and that a white woman, Jan Jansen Dam's wife — Van Tienhoven's mother-in-law and the mother of Jan Vinje — kicked before her a severed head. Moreover, in defiance of local custom and sentiment Kieft sent some of his Indian captives as a present to the governor of Bermuda and gave others to certain old soldiers whom he 'improvidently' permitted to return at this time to Holland.

Vile as were these outbreaks of passion there were few American communities that did not witness the like at one time or another. Not only was the selling of captives as slaves a common and lawful practice in New England: after the Pequot War, wrote Edward Johnson in his *Wonder Working Providence*, some youths and women were brought back as prisoners but the Indian men were thought so guilty that the soldiers 'brought away only their heads'; and in hours of bloody triumph torture was not unknown in New England even in much later days than Governor Kieft's. The histories of King Philip's War, which broke out in 1675, tell of instances including one when a squaw was thrown to the dogs to be torn in pieces. Philip's head might long be seen set high upon a pole at Plymouth, and in the Bay Colony his hands were shown to the public for money.

In August, 1644, Cornelis Melyn addressed to the States General a petition setting forth the distressed state of the province, and in October the Eight Men, almost in despair, sent another *Memorial*, this time to the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company. It rehearsed the story of the war, blaming Kieft alike for its outbreak and for its long continuance. After the 'miraculous' arrival of reënforcements on the *Blue Cock*, it said, the people expected that he would take the field at once with between three and four hundred men but:

> Nothing in the least has been done therein . . . scarce a foot has been moved in the matter nor an oar laid in the water. . . . We understand here that the Director sent . . . by the *Blue Cock* a book ornamented with various pictures in water colors in which he dilates at length on the origin of the war. On that subject it contains as many lies as lines, as we are informed by the minister and others who have read it; and from our time to his, as few facts as leaves.

Kieft's book, the Eight Men furthermore explained, gave accounts of the animals and the products of New Netherland which he could know very little about as never since he came to the country had he been farther afield than halfway up the island of Manhattan. The document called the *Journal of New Netherland* is probably a surviving fragment of a copy of this book.

So long, said the Eight Men, had the governor delayed warlike operations that the winter season was now at hand when half-clothed, unshod men could hardly venture forth, least of all such as had been living for years in the hot climate of Brazil. The *Memorial* blamed for all the troubles it chronicled not only Director Kieft but also the Company which had put him in power and was doing nothing to aid its colonists. The province, it declared,

> . . . is no longer of any or much account. Every place is going to ruin; neither counsel nor advice is taken; the only talk here is of princely sovereignty, about which La Montagne argued a few days ago in the tavern, maintaining that the power of the Director here was

greater, as regards his office and commission, than that of His Highness of Orange in the Netherlands.

This is what we have in the sorrow of our hearts to complain of: That one man who had been sent out, sworn and instructed by his lords and masters to whom he is responsible, should dispose here of our lives and properties at his will and pleasure, in a manner so arbitrary that a king dare not légally do the like.

This meant that the governor had dragged his people into an unjust and unnecessary war, had absolutely denied them the right of appeal to the authorities in Holland, had taxed them without their consent, had not called their Board of Eight Men together for six months despite the dangerous state of affairs, and had jeered and sneered at its members for offering him advice. Therefore on behalf of the people the Eight Men asked that Director Kieft be deposed and that a local government be established after the pattern of those in the fatherland:

It is impossible to settle this country until a different system be introduced here and a new governor sent out with more people who will settle in suitable places, one near another, in the form of villages or hamlets, and elect from among themselves a Bailiff or Schout and Schepens who will be empowered to send their deputies and give their votes on public affairs with the Director and Council; so that the entire country may not be hereafter at the whim of one man again reduced to a similar danger.

The petition of the Twelve Men for a voice in the provincial government had been addressed only to Governor Kieft. This petition of the Eight Men — written by Andries Hudde, an educated man, the official land surveyor of the province — was the first addressed to the owners and rulers of New Netherland. It was the first overt sign of the awakening of the spirit of resistance. It is a clear, frank, and dignified paper and, by virtue of the signatures attached to it, an interesting witness to the democratic temper of New Amsterdam. The representatives of the commonalty who set their names to it were Isaac Allerton the Pilgrim Father, Thomas

Hall the ex-bondsman from Virginia, Cornelis Melyn a cultivated Netherlander, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter a Danish naval officer, and four humbler Netherlanders, three of whom could sign only with marks.

Before any answer to this appeal could come Director Kieft, reproved and warned by his superiors in Holland, bestirred himself at last to pacify his province, and one of his helpers was another Captain De Vries — Captain Jan De Vries, or De Fries, the commander of the *Blue Cock*. By this time the Indians near Manhattan were almost as exhausted as the whites, and famine stared all men in the face from the fields that had lain so long untilled. As seed-time came around again, in April, 1645, peace was concluded once more with the neighboring tribes, and some of the Long Island Indians were taken into service with the Dutch troops. Then Kieft left the shelter of his fort and, for the first time since his arrival seven years before, went up the river to Fort Orange. The Mohawks and their hereditary foes the Mohegans signed treaties of peace with the white men, and as overlords of the River Indians the Mohawks promised to induce them to do the same. Kieft returned to Manhattan. On August 29 the inhabitants were summoned by the court messenger to repair to the fort when the bell should ring and the colors be raised, there to hear the articles of the proposed general treaty and freely to offer their advice. All, the messenger reported, would attend, for all had answered kindly excepting only Hendrick Hendricksen the tailor. When they assembled no voice was raised against the terms of the treaty and, as its own words run, it was concluded

> . . . in the fort under the blue canopy of heaven in presence of the council of New Netherland and the whole community called together, also in presence of the Maquas' ambassadors . . . as mediators.

It was signed by seven sachems, by Governor Kieft, Councillor La Montagne, and Van der Huyckens the *schout-fiscal*,

and by the Board of Eight Men which this year included four Netherlanders and four Englishmen — Stoffelsen, Bout, Gysbert Op Dyck, and Oloff Stevensen, Underhill, Baxter, the Reverend Francis Doughty and Richard Smith.

Roger Williams was misinformed when, in the letter of 1654 that has already been cited, he said that

> . . . after vast expenses and mutual slaughters of Dutch, English, and Indians about four years, the Dutch were forced, to save their plantation from ruin, to make up a most unworthy and dishonorable peace with the Indians.

The war had lasted not four years but less than three, and the peace was not dishonorable. The white men and the red met each other upon equal terms and pledged themselves to the same line of conduct — above all, not to avenge individual wrongs individually but to apply for redress to the proper authorities, Dutch or Indian.

Nor, demoralized in many ways though the settlers were by their years of terror and suffering, were all their words and deeds dishonorable while the war lasted. It was in the dreadful year 1643 that they rescued and succored Father Jogues and Father Bressani. Jogues returned to Europe in the ship that carried the first *Memorials* of the Eight Men. His evidence regarding the governor's responsibility for the war, as quoted by another Jesuit, Father Buteux, corroborates that of Kieft's own people. Jogues had got the story from a Catholic Irishman who confessed to him on Manhattan.

Furthermore, one of the articles of the treaty of 1645 laid upon the Indians a solemn obligation to restore the little daughter of Mrs. Hutchinson whom they had carried off when they slew the other members of her household, the Dutchmen guaranteeing the ransom that her friends in Boston had offered. All the pledges written in the treaty were not fulfilled, but this one was. The child was brought to New Amsterdam and sent thence to Boston although, Winthrop relates, she had forgotten her native language and was loth to leave the Indians.

Through Anne Hutchinson's eldest son, Edward, who had not come with her to New Netherland the whirligig of time brought in revenges. One of his descendants was Thomas Hutchinson who, when the Revolution was impending, bore rule as a loyalist governor over the Bay Colony that had thrust the Antinomian woman from its doors. Then again the wheel turned and, like his ancestress, Thomas Hutchinson ended his life in exile.

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CHAPTER VIII

A NEW START

1642–1648

(Governor Kieft, Governor Stuyvesant)

This country and its position are much better and more convenient than that occupied by the English, and had not self-interest and private speculation been considered, assuredly the North or New England would not have outstripped us so much. — *Remonstrance of New Netherland. 1649.*

Although the West India Company gave its colonists no aid during the Indian war it was not indifferent to their trials and dangers, or at least to the loss it would suffer thereby. Its neglect was now due, not as in earlier years to absorbing ambitions and triumphs in other quarters, but to poverty and weakness.

It had done a wonderful work in crippling the power of Spain and increasing the wealth of the Republic. But Captain De Vries spoke truly when he said that its success in getting booty by conquest would undermine the foundations of legitimate trade. The influx of wealth suddenly and easily gained fostered an almost frantic spirit of speculation, conspicuously displayed in the famous 'tulip mania' that was at its height in 1637. Reaction followed. Then in 1641 Portugal, revolting against Spain, signed with Holland a ten years' truce. This confirmed to the Company its Brazilian possessions but excited their Portuguese inhabitants to hope eventually to free themselves from Dutch control and, of course, lessened the Company's privateering opportunities. As meanwhile it had been declaring reckless dividends, and as it could get but a small part of the subsidies promised by

the government, it was almost bankrupt when, in 1644, the States General directed it to take prompt action upon the complaints of the Eight Men of New Amsterdam. It replied that it now despaired of getting profit from a province which had cost it half a million guilders in excess of all receipts. It was in honor bound, it said, to keep the province; otherwise it would willingly resign it to the States General. Without aid it could no longer defend or supply any 'distant place'; and the special aid for which it asked, pleading its notable public services, was consolidation with its elder sister the East India Company, now far more prosperous than itself. The charters of both companies were soon to expire. The East India Company had reaped all the permanent advantages of the conflict with Spain; the West India Company had borne all the blows and burdens; and the government would have been glad to discharge its great debts to the poorer association by laying them on the shoulders of the richer. But to consolidation the East India Company would not consent.

In the Assembly of the XIX, Van Rensselaer had recently written to Kieft, opinions still greatly differed respecting New Netherland, some going 'on the principle of commerce, others though fewer on the principle of colonization.' But debilitated and divided though it was, the Company could no longer ignore the troubles in the province. Referring all the papers it had received from its agents and its colonists to a board of accounts which it had recently established it received in return a careful advisory report. This condemned the suggestion of Director Kieft that a strong band of soldiers should be sent out 'utterly to exterminate all enemies by force.' Kieft's people, it said, had protested against the 'hasty and severe proceedings' which, taking place 'without their knowledge or consent,' had resulted in the slaughter of about a thousand Indians and many soldiers and colonists. There could be little hope of peace, it affirmed,

. . . so long as the present rulers remain there, because the Indians

are in no way to be pacified (as they themselves declare to ours) until the Director is removed thence, calling daily for Wouter, Wouter — meaning Wouter Van Twiller.

Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, the report continued — ignoring his long dispute with the Company about his removal from office and the arrears of his pay — ought now to be appointed governor for he was a favorite with the Indians. Properly to support the civil establishment in the province and to repair and garrison Fort Amsterdam the Company should expend somewhat more than 20,000 guilders a year. The Director-general should be assisted by a vice-director and a *schout-fiscal* and, when criminal cases came before his court, by two 'capable members' of the commonalty. The delegates whom the Charter of Freedoms of 1640 had instructed the patroons to appoint for consultation with the director regarding public affairs ought to be summoned for the purpose twice a year — a plan which would have established a little semi-popular assembly. Negro slaves should be introduced in numbers because, as in earlier days, Dutch farm servants had to be bribed to emigrate 'by a great deal of money and promises.' The colonists should be allowed to trade with the Company's colonies in Brazil, and to them alone should be reserved all traffic with the Indians in their own province; that is, roving traders and hucksters, of whom the settlers had begun to complain since the enlargement of trading privileges, ought not to be allowed to reap hasty harvests of gain and then to sail away, doing nothing to build up the country, bearing none of its burdens, and helping to enrich none of its inhabitants. The report also said that Holland and England should agree upon the boundaries of their American lands where the English, it added very truly, were daily encroaching more and more upon the Dutch.

The Pequot War had shown the New Englanders the danger of Indian outbreaks and the need for concord among themselves in times of trouble. As the mother-country was now in the throes of civil war they knew that they must rely wholly

upon themselves and, on the other hand, that neither king nor parliament would interfere with anything they might choose to do. Therefore in May, 1643, Massachusetts (which had annexed New Hampshire), Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth formed themselves into a confederacy, calling it the United Colonies of New England. Eight commissioners, two chosen by the general court or assembly of each of the colonies, were to manage such public matters as concerned them all and to have the entire control of Indian affairs. The vote of any six commissioners was to be binding upon all four colonies.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, unorthodox and democratic, refused to buy admission to this new confederacy at the price of annexation to Massachusetts or Plymouth; and the settlements in Maine were also excluded — somewhat turbulent places as tenacious as Rhode Island of their independence and so unaware of what was fitting that the people of one of them, Winthrop explains, had made a tailor their mayor and an excommunicated person their minister. The Rhode Island settlements, thus left out in the cold, instructed their governor to treat with the New Netherlanders to supply them with necessaries, taking their commodities in return. Roger Williams, whom they had recently sent to England by way of Manhattan, succeeded in his errand: in 1644 he obtained for them from the Commissioners of the Long Parliament a very liberal charter.

There were now in Massachusetts about fifteen thousand people, in Plymouth Colony about three thousand; there were three thousand in Connecticut, which in 1644 bought Saybrook Fort and took Southampton on Long Island under its wing; and in New Haven Colony there were two thousand. In the Dutch province there were not more than two thousand Netherlanders.

Deep as Kieft was in his Indian war he sent a sloop to Boston with letters congratulating the new federal commissioners and asking whether they intended to indorse the unjust and inimical treatment of his people on the Fresh River. Hart-

ford, on the other hand, complained of the New Netherlanders and so did New Haven, laying especial stress upon the exclusion from the Delaware River of the band of settlers it had sent there. The commissioners decided that Hartford's title to its lands was just.

In the summer of 1646 the commissioners met at New Haven. Writing in Latin Governor Kieft vigorously protested against their presence in their official capacity at the place called by his people 'the Red Hills in New Netherland,' and explained that the Connecticut people

> . . . some years past without any occasion given by us and without any necessity imposed upon them but with an insatiable desire of possessing that which is ours, against our protestations, against the law of nations and the ancient league between the king's Majesty and our superiors, have indirectly entered the limits of New Netherland, usurped divers places in them, and have been very injurious unto us, neither have they given satisfaction though oft required. . . .

A new protest was necessary at this time, the governor took pains to say,

> . . . because you and yours have of late determined to fasten your foot near Mauritius River in this province, and there not only to disturb our trade (of no man hitherto questioned) and to draw it to yourselves but utterly to destroy it. . . .

In their reply, which was also in Latin, the commissioners said:

> We do truly profess we know no such river nor can conceive what river you intend by that name unless it be that which the English have long and still do call Hudson's River. Nor have we at any time formerly or lately entered upon any place to which you had or have any known title, nor in any other respect been injurious to you.

While the Connecticut men showed no doubt in regard to their possessions, Governor Eaton of New Haven, who stood nearer the headquarters of the Dutch, appears not to have read his title clear, writing to Winthrop:

A cloud nearly seems to threaten from the west. We lately built a small house within our own limits, if at least we have any interest in these parts and that the Dutch be not lords of the country, for they write this plantation in New Netherland.

Again the commissioners of the United Colonies wrote to Kieft complaining of the 'strange and insufferable boldness' of his deputy at Fort Good Hope and expressing the wish that he might now send them an answer testifying to his concurrence with them in their desire to 'pursue righteousness and peace.' What he answered was that the inhabitants of Hartford had deceived the commissioners, adding:

Certainly when we hear the inhabitants of Hartford complaining of us we seem to hear Æsop's wolf complaining of the lamb or the admonition of the young man who cried out to his mother chiding with her neighbors, Oh, mother, revile her lest she first take up that practice against you.

Taught by the precedent conduct of the enemies who were so much stronger than his own people, Kieft continued, he had of course expected accusations and reproaches, for 'the eagle always despiseth the beetle-fly.' Nevertheless his people would 'undauntedly continue' to assert their rights and to obey the commands of their superiors; and once more he protested in their name

. . . against all you commissioners met at the Red Hill as against breakers of the common league and also infringers of the special rights of the Lords, the States our superiors, in that ye have dared without express commission to hold your general meeting within the limits of New Netherland.

Again the federal commissioners answered lengthily, dwelling upon the 'unsufferable disorders' at Hartford and declaring:

We say no more; we have more cause to protest against your protestation than you have to be offended at our boldness in meeting at New Haven, and for aught we know may show as good a commission for the one as you for the other. . . .

Later communications show that the commissioners really wanted to induce the rivals at Hartford to live peaceably together and that Kieft promised to do his part therein; but he could not consent when New Haven proposed that the whole matter should be submitted to the arbitration of the king or the parliament of England. When the West India Company learned of these passages it ordered him to do all that he could to prevent further incursions into its territories but again forbade him to use force.

Meanwhile the Swedes had almost annihilated the traffic of the Dutch on the South River, and although Kieft sent down Andries Hudde as commissary his handful of people could make no headway against their more numerous rivals. In 1643 Sir Edmund Plowden, the proprietor of the province-on-paper called New Albion, went from Virginia to the South River to make a settlement. The Swedes turned him out. Then he came to Manhattan and laid claim to the districts now called New Jersey. Fully occupied with the Indian war Kieft ignored him, and he departed saying that he would soon try again on the South River. In 1644 some merchants of Boston wanting, like the New Haven people, to exploit the fur trade on the South River got from Governor Winthrop letters-patent and credentials to the Dutch and Swedish commanders and sent down a pinnace with goods for barter. Erelong it returned to Boston, nothing accomplished; and although the agents of the owners laid the blame for the failure of the enterprise chiefly upon the drunken skipper of the pinnace, and the owners recovered damages from him, nevertheless the protests of Governor Kieft and the jealousy shown by the Dutch as well as the Swedes on the river formed another count against New Netherland, long to be remembered and emphasized by the United Colonies.

Vague ideas with regard to these parts of America still prevailed in England. For example, Castell's *Short Discovery of the Coast and Continent of America,* which bears the date 1644 and is believed to contain the earliest English

description of New Netherland that found its way into print, says that near

> . . . River Michicham, called the Great North River . . . the Dutch have built a castle of great use to them not only for the keeping under of the natives adjoining but likewise for their more free trading with many of Florida who usually come down the River Canida and so by land to them; a plain proof Canida is not far remote.

A map called *Carta particolare della Nuova Belgia è parte della Nuova Anglia, d'America,* which was published at Florence in 1647 in Robert Dudley's *Arcano del Mare,* drawn by an Italian engraver named Lucini, and based chiefly on Jacobsen's map of 1621 and through this on the Dutch Figurative Map of 1616, shows only the coast regions and makes Long Island, which it calls Matouacs, a group of islands and Sandy Hook a promontory half as large as Cape Cod. It puts New Amsterdam and its fort on Manhattan without naming the island, and calls River Mauritius *R. Martins ó R. Hudson.*

Englishmen and Swedes were not the only white men who troubled the distressed and incompetent officials on Manhattan during the war with the red men. Their brethren at Rensselaerswyck were also as thorns in their side.

The latter part of Van Rensselaer's correspondence, which ends with the year 1643, shows that he had grown more and more discouraged about his colony. In 1641 he wrote to a member of the States General that as the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions permitted patroons to extend their estates as far back from their waterfronts as they might choose, he wished for a commission to extend his from the North to the Fresh River where an English settlement had been set at no more than two or three days' journey from Fort Orange. The English had 'without cause' taken the Fresh River from the West India Company. Therefore, he said, referring to William Pynchon who had founded Agawam (Springfield):

> I would not hesitate to force a certain Master Pingen, an English-

man who is nearest me, to retreat across the Fresh River . . . for if the English continue thus they will soon take possession of the whole of New Netherland as the Company does little to come to a determination of the boundary, which is generally, it is true, a rather troublesome question.

Other letters show that Van Rensselaer planned to divert 'a large part of the furs of the savages who now trade with the French in Canada' and that his agents were actually trading with Virginia. But in 1642 he wrote to Governor Kieft that while he could find at least a hundred persons who wanted to go out to his colony as 'masters' he could not find 'servants, for they must work' — that is, farm-hands who were not to work on their own account as in part the master farmers did. The Company, he complained, was exacting higher freight charges and duties than the Charter of Freedoms of 1640 prescribed, and, as he heard, he was in debt to it in New Netherland, chiefly for supplies of wine:

Can it be that Fort Orange is a wine cellar to debauch my people, exhausting them as long as they can find something to pay and afterwards charging it to my account?

Writing a year later to Adriaen Van der Donck, whom he had sent out in 1641 as 'chief officer' or *schout* of Rensselaerswyck, he lamented the bad conduct of his people who were discontented, impertinent, threatening, and 'slanderous' about the prices charged for merchandise, so that

. . . whereas I have been inclined to have a large number of people in my colony I am become disgusted with it, seeing that the greater the amount the worse the bargain, and the better I regulate everything the more everyone looks out for himself, from which disorder proceeds.

The patroon had indeed tried to regulate things with the most scrupulous pains, carefully choosing his agents, so distributing their duties as to distinguish, 'as in all well regulated governments,' between those who had charge of govern-

ment, of justice, and of commerce, and prescribing how they should assist yet not interfere with each other. But while his people evidently wanted to regulate themselves his officials disregarded his instructions and thought, he said, too much of their own benefit. Although Van der Donck had shown 'zeal and diligence' he had tried to secure lands for himself at a place remote from the one where Van Rensselaer had 'intended and instructed' him to settle and had assumed too much power. Young Arendt Van Corlaer, not understanding his business, did not rightly manage the patroon's affairs with the Company — the exchange of grain for goods and freight charges — or send him proper reports. Answering these reproaches Van Corlaer wrote the patroon that Kieft reckoned freights and charges too high, 'contrary to the granted freedoms,' and that the farmers delivered their grain directly to the Company, transgressed the order not to traffic with the savages, and would not or could not render proper accounts, while some other persons who were writing to the patroon lied 'like rogues.' Many of his troubles sprang from Van der Donck's opposition or interference. Yet he wanted to remain permanently in the country and had betrothed himself to the widow of 'M. Jonas Bronck.' On the whole, paternal government of the patroon's kind, although more conscientious, intelligent, and liberal than the Company's kind, was not succeeding much better.

Kieft was attending to much business for Van Rensselaer and seemingly was more indulgent than Crol and Van Twiller had been about the removal of live stock from Manhattan. In 1642 the patroon wrote him that as he had heard he was a lover of fine horses he was sending him a saddle, a rapier plated with gold and silver, an embroidered baldric, plated spurs, and boots with spur-straps. There were three reasons, Kieft replied, why he wished these gifts had not been sent: he was already 'pretty well provided with everything,' he expected to be called home in the ensuing summer, and it was against his oath of office to accept presents. Therefore he thanked the patroon heartily on behalf of the West India

Company 'as whose effects' the articles had been 'entered on the books.'

The governor's quarrels with the patroon's people in New Netherland were not only about freights and duties. Disputes about jurisdiction, which had begun with the planting of Rensselaerswyck, were now aggravated by the fact that a village called Beverwyck, inhabited by the patroon's people and containing his trading post, was growing up so closely around Fort Orange that the Company's officials felt obliged to claim the ground upon which it stood although they had never bought it of the Indians. Here was built the first house of worship for Domine Megapolensis and his flock.

The patroon's people had kept peace with the Mohawks and Mohegans by selling them firearms, but their trade of other kinds was ruined by the ruin of New Amsterdam, their only point of contact with the outer world. The wandering 'free traders' from Holland seized the chance to traffic illegally with the savages and encouraged the colonists to do the same. The patroon's agents blamed Kieft for permitting them to come up the river, and the patroon sent out instructions how to prevent such intrusions, commissioning one Nicholas Coorn to establish staple-right for Rensselaerswyck as the West India Company had done for Manhattan and, to enforce this claim as well as to provide a place of refuge in case of Indian outbreaks, ordering him to fortify Beeren Island which lay in the river 'at the entrance of the colony.' Tools for this purpose, guns, ammunition, and some small cannon the patroon sent out. The name of the island, he said, should be changed to Rensselaersteyn. He was entitled to order all this, he explained, as the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions gave authority over the river to the first colony that should be established there. Actually the orders were illegal, for the Charter of Freedoms of 1640 secured to all inhabitants of the province free right of way by land and water. Moreover, Beeren Island lay south of the borders of the patroonship.

In 1644 Coorn carried out his orders. Building a small

fort he tried to collect tolls from all vessels except those of the West India Company, ordered all others to strike their flags as they passed by, and fired upon one belonging to Govert Lockermans which refused to do so. Governor Kieft protested and condemned Coorn to pay damages. Coorn answered with a counter protest. Fort Orange was indeed, if he may be believed, a wine-shop to 'debauch' Van Rensselaer's people, drink being sold them there at exorbitant prices for furs which they were forbidden to collect and for wheat which they purloined from their 'lord.' Naturally Kieft's confiscation of the ship bound for Rensselaerswyck which he found to be carrying contraband wares deepened the hard feeling between the two groups of colonists.

Nevertheless, the existence of the patroonship, and even the practice of selling arms to the Indians against the Company's orders, had been of great service to the province at large and thus to the Company itself. Nefarious in theory and in many of its results although the traffic in firearms was, it was the only thing that could have kept the Mohegans and the fierce Mohawks so quiet and so friendly that in 1644, when the lower part of New Netherland was running with blood, Domine Megapolensis wrote:

> These Indians, though they live without laws or fear of punishment, do not kill unless they are in great passion or fighting, wherefore we go along with them or meet them in the woods without fear.

It was the friendship of the Mohawks that saved the province from being overwhelmed by the River Indians. And to refuse them guns and powder would not only have turned them into enemies but would have driven them to beg arms from the English on the Connecticut River who were beginning to come into contact with them and, as the Dutchmen very well knew, would try to win them from their old ties.

Although in 1645 the prospects of the West India Company were bad in New Netherland they were worse in Brazil where

its chief executive, Count John Maurice of Nassau, refused to remain at his post and the Portuguese, now in open revolt, were trying to drive out the Dutch. Discouragement in this quarter increased the relative importance of the North American province. The directors saw the need to take such action upon the complaints of New Amsterdam and the recommendations of their own board of accounts as might set New Netherland once more on the road to prosperity. Deciding to administer it in future through a 'supreme council' of three high officials — a director-general, a vice-director, and a *schout-fiscal* — they recalled Governor Kieft and appointed in his stead, not Lubbertus Van Dincklagen as the board of accounts had advised, but General Petrus Stuyvesant who had sent New Amsterdam the reënforcements from Curaçoa. Van Dincklagen they consoled with the new office of vice-director or deputy-governor, and as *schout-fiscal* to replace Van der Huyckens they selected Ensign Van Dyck who had returned to Holland and, undoubtedly, had given convincing evidence against Kieft and his friends. To the *Memorials* of the Eight Men they returned no direct reply. But that they had in some degree profited by the advice received in the shape of prayer or demand appears from the instructions prepared for the new council by the Assembly of the XIX.

Fort Amsterdam, it was ordered, should be repaired, a permanent garrison maintained, and the militia supplied with weapons. The councillors were to pacify and to satisfy the Indians, absolutely forbidding the sale of arms to them. They were to grant lands to settlers, 'first of all' establishing 'colonies and freemen' on the island of Manhattan, and were to do all in their power to induce the farmers to gather in compact villages, to prevent further encroachments by the English, and to settle definite boundary lines. In all criminal cases two capable members of the community where the crime occurred were to sit with the governor's court. The right of the various 'colonies' in the province to send delegates to assist the council was confirmed although not made obligatory as the board of accounts had advised. Moreover, as the

Company had now resolved 'to open to all private persons' the trade which it had 'exclusively carried on with New Netherland,' it empowered its respective chambers to give permission to 'all private inhabitants of these countries to sail with their own ships' to its own province, the Virginias, the Swedish, English, and French colonies, and all other places 'situate thereabout' in accordance with certain definite regulations regarding 'duties, tolls, and other rights already imposed and to be hereafter imposed' upon exported and imported goods — regulations which still carefully emphasized the staple-right of Manhattan.

Stuyvesant's commission was given in May, 1645. The instructions were first drawn up in July but were reconsidered in September when Stuyvesant submitted a memorial regarding the better government of the Company's colonies based, of course, upon his own experience at Curaçoa. It was then decided that the island colonies should be joined to New Netherland. Much disputing about questions of trade and of responsibility among the different chambers of the Company so prolonged the delay that not until the spring of the year 1647 did the new governor appear in his province. The acting governor and his people utilized the interval to quarrel even more violently than before.

Knowing that he was to be superseded, Kieft was more anxious than ever to assert and to enrich himself, and his people were more eager than ever to oppose and to flout him. Naturally their condition did not improve as rapidly as it should have done after the fear of the Indians was lifted from their minds. Farming lands were again taken up beyond the East River and the North River but trade, depending almost altogether on the beavers obtained from the savages, was at a standstill; the church on Manhattan remained unfinished; and the governor's court was very busy although with many more prosecutions for debt or slander than for theft or darker crimes.

The most prominent of the English residents fell out with each other at this time, John Underhill bringing suit against

Isaac Allerton who, he averred, had told him that he would get higher pay from the commonalty than from the West India Company. Allerton denied the charge and Underhill was compelled to promise in court, for himself and his heirs, 'nevermore to speak to or trouble' the defendant on the subject.

A more flagrant offender was Adam Roelantsen the former schoolmaster. He had come down in the world: at one time he earned his living by washing — that is, most probably, by superintending the great semi-annual or quarterly bleacheries of the Dutch housewives. Often he was prosecuted for slander and in 1646, convicted of loose conduct, he was sentenced to be publicly flogged and banished but was reprieved until a future time because he had four motherless children and the cold weather was approaching. He seems to have ended his career as a wood-sawyer and general drudge in the employ of the West India Company.

With most of the respectable men of the community the governor was on bad terms, persecuting them or disputing with them in one fashion or another, notably with the Reverend Mr. Doughty, with Arnoldus Van Hardenbergh, and with Cornelis Melyn and Jochem Pietersen Kuyter who loudly blamed him for the destruction of their bouweries. His arch-enemy was Domine Bogardus whom at last he determined to prosecute, declaring that in former years the minister had behaved toward Governor Van Twiller in a manner 'unbecoming heathens, let alone Christians, much less a preacher of the gospel,' saying that he still indulged in the same sort of 'scattering abuse' and did not even spare his own wife when he was 'in good company and jolly,' reproaching him particularly for his support of the would-be assassin Maryn Adriaensen, and complaining in general that his conduct was stirring up the people to 'mutiny and rebellion' and making their governor a 'scorn and laughing stock' to their neighbors.

The pamphlet called the *Breeden Raedt* says on the other hand, doubtless with over-emphasis, that Kieft had only 'ravens' religion, who rob whatever falls in their way'; he

gave himself 'no concern about God or man'; to spite Bogardus he encouraged his soldiers to beat the drum and to perform noisy games near the church during service hours; his 'illegal administration of justice' was as patent as his impiety, and he was accused of appropriating public money to his private uses — even the fund that the people had collected for a schoolhouse. Moreover, Van der Huyckens the *schout-fiscal*, Councillor La Montagne, Secretary Van Tienhoven, and Deacon Oloff Stevensen who was one of the Eight Men were as godless as the governor, never attending divine service or taking the Lord's Supper. The quarrel between the governor and the minister was finally patched up by their friends, but to the end Kieft seems to have preserved the offensively autocratic attitude in which La Montagne sustained him while Van der Huyckens worked with him to harass and oppress all who would not bend to his will.

Two results of permanent value remained to the people of New Netherland from this otherwise disastrous administration. One was the enlargement of their trading rights, and one was the establishment of villages with local magistracies in the neighborhood of Manhattan.

The Company was well advised to insist in its instructions to Governor Stuyvesant that its people should settle in compact villages like the English who thereby lived more securely. Land had been so lavishly bestowed upon them and they so distinctly preferred to live and to farm at a distance from each other, partly because they believed that they could thus traffic best with the Indians, that as yet no Dutch village or even hamlet had grown up except around Fort Amsterdam and Fort Orange.

The first settlers who took advantage of the provisions of the Charter of Freedoms of 1640 to secure town rights were some of the English on Long Island. The earliest town patent was bestowed by Kieft upon Doughty and his friends who founded at Mespath the village of Newtown, also called Middelburg when Dutchmen began to settle there. This patent was

given in 1642, after the beginning of the Indian troubles but before the general outbreak during which, as has been told, Doughty's colonists fled to New Amsterdam. Toward the end of the year 1644 a number of families, mostly from Stamford in New Haven Colony, prompted by their former fellow-townsmen Underhill and the Ogdens, migrated to Long Island under the leadership of the Reverend Robert Fordham and settled at a spot which the Dutch called Heemstede, Kieft giving them a patent for a wide tract running from the ocean to the sound and including a large part of what were known as the Great Plains, now Hempstead Plains. They also were scattered by the Indian raids but, like Doughty's people, returned as soon as possible to their desolated fields. In this settlement was established, with Fordham as pastor, the first Presbyterian church within the limits of the State of New York. In the first division of the lands, effected in 1647, sixty-six freeholders received allotments. In October, 1645, two months after the conclusion of the general peace with the Indians, on the north shore of the island the town of Vlissingen (Flushing) was founded in a similar way with eighteen patentees, all but one of them English. The land in this region, it was said, had been bought by the Dutch authorities from the Matinicock Indians at the rate of one hoe for fifty acres. In the same year Lady Deborah Moody, her son Sir Henry, George Baxter, James Hubbard, and two score others obtained a town patent for their colony at Gravesend.

All these Englishmen were by charter permitted to administer their affairs in town-meeting after the New England fashion but were pledged to elect, according to Dutch custom, a double number of officials from whom the governor in council should make the final appointment, and to admit a right of appeal from their courts to his at Fort Amsterdam. They were also granted 'according to the custom and manner of Holland,' as the Gravesend charter says, 'free liberty of conscience' in the broader sense which meant rights of public worship,

. . . without molestation or disturbance from any magistrate or magistrates or any other ecclesiastical minister that may pretend to jurisdiction over them.

While the organization of the English towns in New Netherland was thus modified in accordance with Dutch customs that of the Dutch towns was not in any way affected by the neighborhood of the English. The Twelve Men and the Eight Men had asked for New Amsterdam rights and privileges such as Hollanders enjoyed at home; and all the charters given to their compatriots were modelled upon the precedents of the fatherland. The earliest of them, and the only one bestowed while Kieft was in power, incorporated Breuckelen (Brooklyn), named after a little town about eighteen miles from Amsterdam. This, the first Dutch village in the province barring only New Amsterdam and Beverwyck, was founded while the war was still in progress by Jan Evertsen Bout of Pavonia, Jacob Stoffelsen, and a few of their friends who secured the best part of the lands of the Indians, now dispersed, that had been driven into the war by the robberies of the white men. It stood about a mile from the shore southeast of the present City Hall of Brooklyn, on the line of Fulton Street, and afterwards absorbed the neighboring plantations called Gowanus, the Ferry, and the Waal-Boght. The charter given by Kieft no longer exists but is referred to in various documents of contemporaneous and of later dates.

When, soon afterwards, this charter was enlarged the magistrates of Breuckelen, as of later-born Dutch towns, were *schepens*, usually two or four in number, and a *schout* who served as sheriff and prosecuting attorney and presided over the court when not acting as prosecutor. In the first instance they were elected by the freemen of the commune — by all its inhabitants who were not mere farm laborers but had an interest in the land — and of course in double number for final choice and confirmation by the governor in council. Once in office they formed a close corporation, nominating the successors to such members as, after the well-rooted Dutch principle of rotation in office, annually retired. All

the decisions of their court, which had civil and criminal jurisdiction, were subject to revision by the higher court at Fort Amsterdam. In every town thus incorporated two hundred acres of land were reserved for public use, again according to the customs of the fatherland. Any inhabitant who should disobey the local magistrates was to be deprived of all share in these common lands.

To a New Englander such a form of local government would hardly have seemed a form of popular government. Resembling those to which Dutchmen were accustomed at home it contented them so well in America that they never showed the slightest desire to imitate the New England type with which they grew familiar. The trend toward oligarchy, it is important to note, was controlled, as it was in the close corporations of the cities and towns of Holland, by public opinion to a degree that seems curiously modern by comparison with contemporary New England. If public opinion — the unorganized, unofficially expressed opinion of the mass or majority of the people — had been an effective force in Massachusetts, theocratic government would have been overthrown or modified long before it came to represent only a fifth part of the adult male inhabitants. If it had not been an effective force in New Netherland, Hollanders could not have borne so long with a provincial government in which they had no overt share. The way in which even a would-be autocrat like Kieft deferred to it has been shown. Plainly, it controlled local magistrates when they nominated their successors. And the records of the Dutch towns on Long Island prove that, although their charters made no provision for action by the inhabitants as a body, nevertheless as a body they did act in church and school affairs and sometimes upon important questions of other kinds, while now and again the governor of the province called them together for discussion and counsel.

In 1646 another patroonship was established. Adriaen Cornelissen Van der Donck, or Verdonck, who had been *schout* at Rensselaerswyck was the grantee. Good patriot blood ran

in his veins: he was the grandson of Adriaen Bergen whose famous turf-boat enabled Prince Maurice to surprise and to capture from the Spaniards the castle of Breda in 1599. Born at Breda Van der Donck was graduated from the University of Leyden and licensed as a doctor of civil and of canon law. Although he quarrelled at Rensselaerswyck with Van Corlaer and, through Van Rensselaer's opposition, failed to get the lands he wanted to establish a patroonship for himself between the Catskill Mountains and the river, he retained his post until the patroon died in 1646. Meanwhile, as the Indian war drew to a close, he helped Kieft in his negotiations with the Mohawks and Mohegans and lent him money for the gifts he had to bestow upon them. In return Kieft granted him a large tract of land just north of Manhattan, between River Mauritius, the Harlem, and the Bronx, and the West India Company confirmed his title as patroon. His estate was called Colen-Donck (Donck's Colony) and also *de Jonkheer's Landt*. *Jonkheer* was the lowest title in use in Holland, resembling the German *Freiherr*. The letters of Van Rensselaer and the records of his colony show that Van der Donck had not borne it in Holland and that at first it was not given him in New Netherland. Apparently it was in his case a mere courtesy title bestowed by those under his control after he had been for some time the chief officer at Rensselaerswyck. In 1645 he married a daughter of the Reverend Mr. Doughty. Able, intelligent, and public spirited, and with the exception of Van Dincklagen the only lawyer who had yet come to New Amsterdam, he soon grew conspicuous as the leader of its people in their struggle for self-government.

This struggle formed the main feature of the earlier years of Governor Stuyvesant's administration, for while Governor Kieft willingly granted charters to outlying villages he bestowed none upon the town which had demanded a local government of its own — the town in which the provincial government had its seat and which the West India Company had reserved with the rest of the island of Manhattan as its peculiar property.

In 1646 the West India Company got from the municipalities a portion of the subsidies so often promised it; and as the reports from Brazil grew worse and worse and the king of Portugal, although in alliance with the Dutch, declared that he could not suppress the revolt there in progress against the Company, the States General decided that for its benefit the rich East India Company should pay, as the price of a renewal of its own charter, almost 1,500,000 guilders. This sum the West India Company received partly in merchandise, partly in promises of annual payments. But as the States General furthermore encouraged it by supplying four thousand men for its fleets and by promising to maintain the 'trade and population' of its American settlements and to inflict as much damage as possible upon the Spaniards, it could go about its difficult tasks in a somewhat more hopeful spirit. Just before the end of the year 1646 it despatched General Stuyvesant to take control in New Netherland. The estimated revenue of the province as there collected, says the *Remonstrance of New Netherland,* was about 16,000 guilders. It must have cost much more to maintain it in the way the Company seemed now to intend.

Born in 1592, the son of a clergyman of Friesland, Stuyvesant had fought for the Company in Brazil before he was appointed governor of Curaçoa. While he was at Curaçoa he attacked by sea, unsuccessfully, a Portuguese stronghold on the island of St. Martin. Losing a leg in the battle, he was forced to return to Holland. The Company justified all that he had done and decided that he was the best possible person to pull New Netherland out of the Slough of Despond into which Kieft had plunged it.

In fact, the sturdy soldier, then about fifty-five years of age, had many of the qualities needed for such a task. He was upright and sober in his private life, intelligent in military and diplomatic affairs, impulsive by nature but prudent in the face of difficulties which he understood, and singularly energetic and conscientious in performing his whole duty as he saw it. On the other hand he was an autocrat by convic-

tion, an enemy on principle to all theories of popular rights, a tyrant by temperament, a dictator by military habit, passionate, opinionated, and stubborn. In some ways he ruled his people for their good, in some he worked against their best interests, in many he opposed and angered them. His figure stands out more vividly than any other from the long panorama of Manhattan's first hundred and fifty years. Even to the popular mind it remains vital and distinct while all those of his predecessors and contemporaries and of generations of the later-born have faded to shadowy silhouettes. But it is tradition rather than history that has kept the old Dutch governor alive. The Peter Stuyvesant whom New York fancies it remembers is largely mythical. The real one was, indeed, a virile, picturesque, and interesting person with a violent temper that he kept in constant use and a silver-bound wooden leg. But he was not the Father Stuyvesant of the story-books — wise though stern, warm-hearted though irascible, loving his people, knowing better than they what was good for them, and respected and beloved by them as a kindly despot. This governor never existed.

It is easier, it may be explained, to appraise the character of Governor Stuyvesant than that of either of his predecessors because, beginning with the end of the year 1646, we have much of the official correspondence which for earlier years is wholly lacking in the Dutch records, even the letters of Governor Kieft to the New England colonies existing only in the records there preserved. Only upon tradition, it has sometimes been said, rests the belief that General Stuyvesant stumped about New Amsterdam on a peg-leg. This is a mistake. The *Breeden Raedt* says that his leg was 'shot off by the first cannon-shot from Fort St. Martin'; the Indians near Albany, it is recorded, called his soldiers 'Wooden Leg's dogs'; and a contemporary English traveller, John Josselyn, spoke of him as the 'governor with the silver leg,' meaning doubtless a wooden leg strengthened and adorned with silver bands. Whether the lost leg was the right one or the left nobody says. No full-length portrait of him exists. A half-

length owned by his descendants shows him with a stern, clean-shaven face, a long drooping nose, a bald crown partly covered by a skullcap, long side-locks, a steel cuirass, a scarf, and a broad linen collar with a cord and tassels. Sometimes, it may be added, he used the Latin form of his name, Petrus, and sometimes the Dutch form, Pieter. As the opening words of official papers he wrote:

I, Petrus Stuijvesant, Director-General of New Netherland, Curaçoa, Bonino, Arabi, and the islands adjacent. . . .

At Christmas-time in the year 1646 Stuyvesant and his family, Van Dincklagen and Van Dyck, Adriaen Keyser whom the Company was sending out as its chief commissary, and Brian Newton, an English soldier whom it had employed for twenty years in the West Indies and had now appointed chief military officer for New Netherland, set sail with a little fleet of four vessels carrying soldiers, settlers, trading adventurers, and merchandise. Making the voyage by way of Curaçoa, against the advice of Van Dyck with whom Stuyvesant was already quarrelling, they did not reach Manhattan until May 11, 1647, twenty-one years almost to a day after the arrival of the first director-general, Peter Minuit. Stuyvesant's family included his wife whom he had recently married — Judith Bayard, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman of French or Walloon antecedents, — his sister Anna, who was the widow of his wife's brother Samuel Bayard, and her four children. Three of these Bayard children were boys named Balthazar, Peter, and Nicholas. From them the American Bayards are descended.

The last of the powder in Fort Amsterdam was spent in a joyous salute to the new governor's ship. But as soon as he landed he gave offence by his bearing. As he passed from the ship to the fort, says the *Remonstrance* of 1649, he carried himself 'peacock-like with great state and pomposity'; and he kept some of the principal inhabitants standing bareheaded for hours while he remained covered as though he had been 'the Czar of Muscovy.'

When William Kieft resigned the government to his successor in the presence of all the people he thanked them for their loyalty, says the *Breeden Raedt*, 'more than was reasonable.' He expected in return a grateful address, but some persons 'spoke out roundly' saying that they had no reasons to thank him, and chief among these were Cornelis Melyn and Jochem Pietersen Kuyter. Stuyvesant promised that all should have equal justice and that he would be a father to New Netherland. The people doubted; and the cause of their dubiousness was their rooted distrust of the West India Company's officials accentuated by the favor that the new governor instantly showed to those who had been most glaringly incompetent.

Cornelis Van Tienhoven, whom the people hated even more than William Kieft, kept his place as secretary of the province. This of course was by the Company's orders. As English secretary Stuyvesant retained George Baxter. To the council of which Van Dincklagen and Van Dyck were the chief members he added, says the *Remonstrance*, Kieft's councillor, La Montagne, who had no commission from the fatherland and was much in debt to the Company, Brian Newton who regarded the governor as his benefactor and, besides, knew nothing of law and could speak no word of Dutch, and Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist who had come out as 'naval agent' or officer of the port but soon became a 'freeman' — that is, quitted the Company's service; and he also admitted to the council board the captains of the Company's ships when they were on shore and sometimes its commissary, Keyser, all of whom the people considered improper persons to serve in such a capacity.

Domine Bogardus now resigned and prepared to return to the fatherland. Very unwillingly Domine Backerus, whom Stuyvesant had picked up at Curaçoa and who likewise wanted to go home, consented to fill the vacant pulpit. Among the new churchwardens whom the new governor appointed was Van Tienhoven's friend Jan Jansen Dam, one of the signers of the fraudulent petition that had led to Kieft's massacre

of the Indians. 'He was a fine churchwarden,' says the *Breeden Raedt*, 'with his bloody hands.'

The governor may well have felt that he needed all the help he could get from a large and docile council. Thanks to William Kieft the task of governing and developing New Netherland was even more difficult than when Kieft himself had assumed it. The finances and the trade of the province were in utter confusion. The little capital town was half ruined. The remnant of its people were mostly very poor, and their morals sadly needed reformation in respect to intemperance and the smuggling habits that had been fostered by the Company's heavy customs dues and the general hatred for its officials. Just after Domine Backerus arrived he wrote to the classis of Amsterdam:

> The congregation here numbers about one hundred and seventy members, most all very ignorant in regard to religion and very much given to drink to which they are led by the seventeen tap-houses here.

This is not quite as bad as Stuyvesant's own assertion that a fourth part of the buildings in New Amsterdam were given up to the sale of liquor. Yet evidently there was need for his very first ordinance, issued a fortnight after his arrival. Emphasizing those issued by Kieft it said that no intoxicants should be sold after the ringing of the town bell at nine o'clock in the evening on any day of the week or on Sundays before two of the clock when there was no afternoon sermon, or otherwise before four of the clock, except to 'travellers and daily boarders' who might be provided with what they needed in their lodgings. Innkeepers and tapsters transgressing these rules were to forfeit their licenses and to pay six Carolus guilders for every person found drinking in their houses during the forbidden hours. Stuyvesant also reiterated Kieft's law, forced from him by the complaints of the sachems, prohibiting under heavy penalties all sales of liquor to the Indians.

In New England, where also liquor selling was controlled by the government, the early laws forbidding sales to Indians

had been gradually relaxed, and in 1644 the general court of Massachusetts decided that it was 'not fit to deprive the Indians of any lawful comfort which God alloweth to all men by the use of wine.' The results, however, were so unfortunate that about ten years after Stuyvesant issued his prohibition a law of the same kind was enacted in Boston.

All farms, the new governor ordered in council, should be fenced to prevent damage by straying beasts, but no one should enclose land or build upon it in New Amsterdam without consulting the official surveyor. To prevent 'fraud and smuggling' he directed that all furs should be marked and stamped, and fixed their value in relation to the export tax, saying that fifteen stivers should be paid upon each 'merchantable' beaver, otter, and elk skin and a proportionate sum upon 'other furs of less value.' He strictly forbade any person to go into the Mohawk country to traffic; all should 'wait at the trading posts for trade.' By harbor regulations he tried to prevent the smuggling in of foreign goods on vessels which ran past Fort Amsterdam at night and the smuggling out of furs to New England and Virginia. As a means toward enforcing these laws he commanded all 'commercial persons' of every kind 'whether inhabitants or foreigners' to keep their books always open for his inspection. And to get money to complete the church and to carry on other desirable public works he imposed an excise on wines and liquors to be paid by tavern-keepers and retailers, merchants and shippers, and purchasers of a stock for private consumption.

Of course the people resented most of these new rules and especially the revival of the hated and illegal excise. They complained that when they remonstrated with the governor he replied in verbose and stilted papers that simple folk could not understand. They grew more and more impatient of his dictatorial and contemptuous attitude, they saw with alarm that William Kieft had gained his confidence, and they sympathized with Melyn and Kuyter when, very soon, they brought their old dispute with Kieft to a climax.

In a joint petition these two prominent persons asked that the chief officials of Kieft's government should be formally examined regarding the conduct thereof particularly in the matter of the Indian war, intending upon the evidence thus secured to base a complaint to the authorities in Holland. Stuyvesant declared that he had not been directed to make any inquiry into his predecessor's doings, instructed his council that it was treason to petition against magistrates whether there were cause or not, and said, so the people believed:

> These boorish brutes would hereafter endeavor to knock me over also, but I will now manage it so that they will have their bellies full for all time to come.

Denying that because Melyn and Kuyter had been members of the Board of Eight Men they should be looked upon as officials, he declared that they were private persons and that if they could not show that they had spoken under direct instructions from the commonalty they must go back to Holland for trial. Kieft then accused them as traitors, saying that they were the authors of the *Memorial* of the Eight Men which was full of calumnies and lies and had been secretly and unlawfully despatched to Holland. The governor and his council ordered the *schout-fiscal* to indict them but, dissatisfied with Van Dyck's methods, constituted themselves prosecutors as well as judges; and Kuyter and Melyn, although they made an excellent defence, were thus convicted of sedition and rebellion upon many specified charges and were fined and banished — Melyn for seven years, Kuyter for three. But for the opposition of his councillors Stuyvesant would have put Melyn to death and confiscated his estate.

Melyn declared that he would appeal to the States General. He was encouraged, probably, by the fact that Maryn Adriaensen, who had been sent home to be tried for his attack upon Governor Kieft, had not been punished and had been permitted to return to New Netherland; and he was openly sustained by public opinion. Wrathful indeed grew General Stuyvesant,

crying out, says the *Remonstrance* which was written only two years later,

> . . . in these or similar words, 'Had I known, Melyn, that you would have divulged our sentence or brought it before their High Mightinesses I should have had you hanged forthwith to the highest tree in New Netherland.'

Following in Kieft's footsteps Stuyvesant also denied the right of appeal to the Reverend Mr. Doughty who was dissatisfied with the decision of the court in a suit about lands between himself and some of his fellow-townsmen on Long Island, and to Arnoldus Van Hardenbergh who had complained about certain trading regulations. He would not let Doughty return to Europe until he promised in writing not to speak there about the treatment he had received from either of the governors of New Netherland; and he told Van Hardenbergh in public that if any one thought of appealing from his decisions he would 'have him made a foot shorter' and 'pack the pieces off to Holland' so that he might 'appeal in that way.' Cruel words, says the *Remonstrance:*

> Oh, cruel words! What more could a sovereign do? . . . His Honor hath always maintained that no appeal lay or could lie from this country and that he was sufficiently able to prove it.

Both Melyn and Kuyter, apparently, refused to accept the sentence of banishment and to depart, as ordered, in the first vessel that should leave the port. At all events both were sent as prisoners to the fatherland. In the same ship, the *Princess,* which sailed in August, 1647, went William Kieft, Domine Bogardus, Van der Huyckens the superseded *schout-fiscal,* various servants of the Company whose time had expired, and settlers discouraged by the Indian war — with the mariners one hundred and twenty persons in all. Badly navigated, the *Princess* ran up Bristol Channel and struck on the rocks near Swansea. Then, says the *Breeden Raedt,* the 'godless Kieft' turned to Melyn and Kuyter and,

. . . seeing death before his eyes and sighing deeply, doubtfully asked both of them, 'Friends, I have done you wrong; can you forgive me?' The ship being broken in eight pieces drove the whole night in the sea till daybreak. The most of them were drowned. . . . There was much wealth lost with Kieft as the ship's return cargo was worth more than 400,000 guilders.

There were also lost collections of plants and minerals and careful surveys of the province prepared by Kieft's order to show its resources. Eighty-one persons perished, including Kieft himself, Domine Bogardus, Van der Huyckens, Dr. Kierstede's brother, and Cornelis Melyn's son. Melyn and a few others floated to a sand-bank whence, with the aid of some planks and their shirts as sails, they made their way to the mainland. Kuyter drifted about alone on the poop of the ship and was finally thrown ashore with it, to the great astonishment of the people who had collected there 'by thousands.' For three days these 'two true patriots' who had so narrowly saved their lives dragged for the papers on which they depended to save their characters, and finally recovered one box of them from the sea.

Thus the prophecy with which Captain De Vries had parted from William Kieft was amply fulfilled. Governor Winthrop was grateful for the event although not for reasons that De Vries would have indorsed. It was, he wrote,

. . . an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherland which, though it was sadly to be lamented in regard of the calamity, yet there appeared in it so much of God in favor of his poor people here and displeasure toward such as have opposed and injured them as is not to be passed without due observation and acknowledgment. The late governor, Mr. William Kieft (a sober and prudent man) though he abstained from outward force yet had continually molested the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, and used menacings and protests against them upon all occasions, and had burnt down a trading house which New Haven had built upon the Delaware River. . . .

Also, Kieft had taken with him on the *Princess* two refugee criminals from Massachusetts. For these offences by the

hand of God he perished. The directors of the West India Company took still another view of the incident. When Melyn and Kuyter reached Holland, says the *Breeden Raedt*, they were given to understand that the directors regretted that two such 'bandits, rebels, and mutineers' had been saved to trouble the Company 'with their complaints' while the ship, its rich cargo, and 'so many fine folks' had perished.

The removal of these two mutineers from New Amsterdam hardly lessened the governor's troubles. He greatly needed money to repair the fort, to finish the church that Kieft had begun, to build a schoolhouse, and to satisfy the River Indians who had not yet received the gifts promised by Kieft when he made peace with them in 1645. But, as Stuyvesant wrote home, he was 'actually unprovided with money or goods'; and while he feared the dissatisfied savages he distrusted his 'wavering multitude' of white men who were all but ruined by Kieft's war and were ready to blame his successor should peace again be impaired, yet resented more and more the restrictions wisely laid upon their trading habits.

In the hope of getting booty from the Spaniards Stuyvesant sent two of the Company's vessels on a privateering cruise to the West Indies. If he wanted to raise money in his province, his councillors assured him, he must allow his people a voice in the matter. Therefore in August, 1647, just after the *Princess* started on her fatal voyage, he directed the commonalty to elect a new board of representatives. On September 25 he formally established it and defined its duties, saying that his 'dear vassals and subjects' had duly acted upon his order that 'without passion or hatred or envy' they should select from among their number eighteen of 'the most notable, most reasonable, most honorable, and most respectable' from whom he himself had then chosen nine, six of them to retire each year and their successors to be nominated by the board itself.

The freemen of the only places where the war had left many

Dutch settlers — Manhattan, Pavonia, and Breuckelen and Amersfoort (Flatlands) on Long Island — joined in the election of this, the first formally constituted board of local officials that assembled in New Amsterdam; and, according to Stuyvesant's orders, its nine members represented in equal proportion the merchants, the farmers, and the burghers or citizens who had chosen them. This classification is another proof of the democratic spirit of New Amsterdam. 'Merchants' meant persons who lived altogether by trade (a 'trader' being any one who trafficked with the Indians); and 'burghers' included all who were neither merchants nor farmers. The three terms did not indicate class distinctions but differing material interests. In a petition framed at about this time in Boston its people were classified as 'gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants.'

The three merchants who sat on the first Board of Nine Men were Govert Lockermans, Arnoldus Van Hardenbergh, and Augustine Herrman, or Heerman; the farmers were Machiel Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall; the burghers were Jacobus Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven, Jan Jansen Damen (of the 'bloody hands'), and Hendrick Hendricksen the tailor who by this time had added Kip to his name. All were Netherlanders excepting Hall and Herrman. Herrman was a Bohemian, a native of Prague, the son, it is said, of a merchant and a woman of noble birth, — highly educated, master of many tongues, and a surveyor by profession. He had served in the Thirty Years' War and had been employed by the West India Company in commercial undertakings, frequenting the South River country before he settled at New Amsterdam in 1643. Here he represented the great Amsterdam firm of Gabry and Company and traded with his brothers-in-law in Virginia. In after years he declared that he had been the 'first beginner' of the important traffic in tobacco between that colony and New Amsterdam. On his farm on Manhattan, near the site of the Astor Library of later years, he seems to have experimented successfully with the cultivation of indigo.

Stuyvesant had agreed unwillingly to the creation of the Board of Nine Men, and in defining its duties he made them as exiguous as possible. Its members, divided into three groups each containing one representative of each class, were in rotation to attend the weekly sessions of the court when civil cases came before it and to act as arbitrators in those that might be referred to them. Otherwise the proclaimed duty of the Nine Men was to originate nothing and to decide nothing but simply to discuss and to advise upon such matters of public moment as the governor and council might choose to lay before them. They were forbidden to meet except when 'legally convened.' The governor or a councillor by him deputed was to preside over their deliberations and to take their votes. And they were to exist officially only so long as the charter creating their body should not be 'legally repealed' — only so long as General Stuyvesant might see fit.

Thus narrowly fettered the Nine Men of New Amsterdam were not to be compared in ostensible importance with the similar bodies that served the cities of the fatherland. Yet in their persons New Netherland saw the beginning of an elective judiciary; and although their power, outside of their slender judicial functions, was merely a power of influence, it was bestowed by charter as that of the Twelve Men and the Eight Men had not been. Much more often the governor hindered than helped them. They were chosen, says the *Remonstrance,* to represent the entire commonalty,

> . . . and it was in the commission and instructions declared that what these men did should be the act of the whole people, and, indeed, it was when it accorded with the Director's opinions and views. . . . But when it happened otherwise, then they were boobies, usurpers, rebels, and such like.

Nevertheless they proved themselves what their commission bade them be — the 'good spokesmen and agents of the commonalty.' They were really, as they were sometimes called, the people's tribunes. And using them as a mouthpiece public opinion in New Amsterdam soon demanded and secured wider rights, more substantial privileges.

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CHAPTER IX

THE REMONSTRANCE OF NEW NETHERLAND

1646–1650

(Governor Stuyvesant)

We humbly solicit permanent privileges and exemptions which promote population and prosperity and which consist, in our opinion, First: In suitable burgher government such as your High Mightinesses will consider adapted to this province and somewhat resembling the laudable government of our Fatherland. — *Petition of the Commonalty of New Netherland to the States General of the United Netherlands. 1649.*

The Nine Men held their sessions, not within the precincts of the fort where the West India Company's officials sat, but in the schoolroom of David Provoost. Director Stuyvesant, laid low by an epidemic of influenza which was sweeping over the country and afflicting Dutchmen, Englishmen, and Indians alike, could not superintend their first deliberations. One of their first acts was to refuse his request for aid in repairing the fort. The Company, they said, had promised to defend its colonists and should meet the cost from its customs dues, the tolls at its grist-mill, and the excise that the governor had imposed. They were willing, however, to raise part of the money needed to complete the church and to reinvigorate the public school.

A vendue-master was appointed to take charge of all public sales, and fire-wardens to oversee all the houses between the fort and the Kalck Hoek Pond. Adriaen Keyser the Company's commissary, Martin Cregier, Thomas Hall, and Joris Wolsey were the first members of Manhattan's first fire department, taking office in January, 1648. Two church services, it was prescribed, must be held every Sunday.

Owners of town lots must improve them under penalty of being forced to sell them to those who would make better use of them. All traffic in firearms was again strictly forbidden. To prevent evasions of the excise, brewers were forbidden to retail beer, tapsters to brew it; and a strict license system was established. All existing inns, taverns, and 'tippling places' might continue for four years but must be kept in decent buildings 'for the embellishment and improvement of the town.' No new place of the kind was to be opened without the unanimous consent of the governor and council. No dealer was to transfer his license. Again the selling of liquor to Indians directly or indirectly was prohibited. A supplementary ordinance issued in the following year spoke of conditions oddly analogous to those resulting from a notorious New York law of our own day. Certain brewers, it said, were in despite of the laws acting as tapsters also, thus depleting the excise and hurting the trade of the regular tapsters; therefore:

> . . . no inhabitants who make a business of brewing shall out of meal times tap, sell, or give away by the small measure any beer, wine, or liquor, not even to boarders who, they pretend, go to eat with them; under which guise, we remark, no trifling fraud is committed.

Although all these things were decreed by the governor in council it is probable that with regard to some of them he consulted the Nine Men, less probable that he deferred to their judgment when it varied from his own. It was, however, by command of the West India Company transmitting orders from the States General that he issued an ordinance giving all 'private inhabitants' of New Netherland liberty to export their 'country produce' in their own or in chartered ships to Brazil, upon payment of duties, of course, and upon certain conditions respecting return cargoes, and, provisionally, to bring negroes from Angola. In February the Nine Men themselves ventured to propose that the people of the province should be protected against the roving traders who came in

search of furs. 'Interlopers' they were called; or, as the merchants of Germany complained for generations of the intrusions of 'Scotch and Nuremberg peddlers,' so those in New Netherland spoke of 'Scotch merchants and petty traders' or sometimes, more queerly, of 'Scotchmen and Chinese' (*Schotten en Chinezen*). Such an ever-growing plague were these itinerant traders that the provincial government consented to pass stringent rules limiting to persons who had for three years been actual residents of the province all inland traffic and all retail trading in New Amsterdam except at the weekly markets which Stuyvesant had established and at an annual *kermis* or fair to be held on the Plain in front of the fort. Undoubtedly the Nine Men and the governor and council were alike encouraged to adopt these regulations by the fact that the Company had said, in the instructions framed when Stuyvesant was appointed, that it hoped soon to free the province from the intrusions of interlopers. Nevertheless, when the Company learned of the new rules it promptly vetoed them, fearing, doubtless, that they would impair its receipts from the customs. They were 'impracticable,' it said, especially in a 'first-budding state,' and it would be 'servile and slavish' to compel people to reside in any given place. The governor, however, might well restrict trading in the city to persons who would keep an 'open shop' there.

Busy though he was with domestic affairs Stuyvesant did not forget that he had been ordered to prevent the English from encroaching farther upon his territories and to try to settle their boundary lines. He made short work of such unfriendly claimants as approached Manhattan. One was a Scotchman named Forrester who, assuming on the strength of credentials from the widow of Lord Stirling the title of governor of Long Island and all the other islands within five miles of it, came to New Amsterdam and demanded a sight of Stuyvesant's commission. Stuyvesant arrested him and packed him off in the first ship that sailed for Holland. Another such visitor

was Plowden, making now his last appearance. Little heed was paid to him. The book which was published to advertise his schemes, and which started the story that Argall had visited Manhattan in 1614, seems to have made small impression in England. He never planted a colony in America, yet as late as the time of the Revolution persons to whom his heirs had sold his claims tried to revive them in New York and New Jersey.

How to deal with the New Englanders was a harder problem for Governor Stuyvesant, compelled at once to meet a complicated situation. The courteous letters in which he announced his arrival to the federal commissioners and the governors of the colonies and their equally courteous replies revived the old questions in dispute and opened new ones. The commissioners complained that the Hollanders sold arms to the savages, and asked why high customs dues were exacted at Manhattan and why 'heavy fines and seizures' followed all 'omissions or mis-entries' there while the harbors of New England stood 'open and free' to all comers. Stuyvesant's own letter to Governor Winthrop, written in English on June 27 and carried to Boston by George Baxter, said that he would try to give satisfaction, always provided that there should be no encroachment upon the 'indubitable right' of the Dutch to the lands between the Connecticut and the Delaware, and asked Winthrop to fix a time and a place where Stuyvesant might meet with him and other impartial persons and 'friendly and Christianly agitate concerning past occurrences.' Winthrop's reply, dated August 17, says that he had acquainted the commissioners of the United Colonies with Stuyvesant's letter, that they readily embraced his 'friendly motion,' but that nothing could be arranged before the winter which would soon approach. He himself was too ill to travel and, he added, 'the craziness of my head and the feebleness of my hands' prevented him from writing as he would desire. Speaking in his history of the same incident Winthrop says that when the Dutch governor's letter was laid before the commissioners,

Some advised that, seeing he made profession of much good will and neighborly correspondency, we should seek to gain upon him by courtesy and therefore accept his offer and tender him a visit at his own home or a meeting at any of our towns where he should choose. But the commissioners of those parts thought otherwise, supposing it would be more to their advantage to stand upon terms of distance, etc. An answer was returned accordingly, only taking notice of his offer and showing our readiness to give him a meeting in time and place convenient. So matters continued as they were.

In regard to New Haven, however, matters took a turn for the worse during this same summer. A Dutch ship called the *San Beningo* was trading at New Haven and intending to go from there to Virginia, without Stuyvesant's license and without regard to the trading laws of New Netherland. To capture this smuggler, as he called it, Stuyvesant put some soldiers on a vessel that had been bought at New Amsterdam for the deputy-governor of New Haven, Samuel Goodyear, and was about to be delivered to him. By Stuyvesant's orders they cut the *San Beningo* out of the harbor, on a Sunday when there was no one at hand to interfere, and brought it to Manhattan where he confiscated ship and cargo, the cargo including muskets and ammunition which were contraband wares. Governor Eaton wrote severely of this proceeding. Stuyvesant excused it by citing European precedents, and declared that all Dutch vessels trading along the coasts of New Netherland must pay the recognizances due at Manhattan. His conduct, Eaton answered, was 'unneighborly and injurious'; the Dutch were inconsistent in their claims, extending them sometimes only to the Connecticut River, sometimes as far as Cape Cod; in any case the claims were unwarrantable; and Stuyvesant would be wholly responsible should peace be broken. What Stuyvesant most wanted, he averred, was a meeting with the commissioners of New England to take place at any time that Eaton himself might appoint. Goodyear, meanwhile, was writing friendly letters about commercial transactions to the Dutch governor and in November congratulated him on the birth of his first 'little one' — a boy who was named Balthazar.

Before the end of the year New Haven refused to surrender three runaway servants of the West India Company and, after a sharp correspondence with Eaton, Stuyvesant decreed in reprisal that Manhattan should shelter all refugees from New Haven, bond or free, 'the lowest prisoner included.' This 'atrocious proclamation' displeased his own people as much as their neighbors. They did not want to see Manhattan a refuge-place for scoundrels; they wished, as John Underhill wrote to Winthrop, for peace and good feeling between themselves and the English; and they realized that their commerce was suffering because traders all along the seaboard and even in the West Indies were alarmed by Stuyvesant's severe enforcement of the Company's rules and his own strict harbor regulations.

During the year 1648 the New Englanders repeatedly accused the Dutch of nefarious dealings with the Indians. Undoubtedly they were provoked to make such charges by a keen sense that the Dutch and the French were getting the fur trade wholly away from them. In the most solemn manner Stuyvesant denied that he was exciting the Mohawks against them, promised to do his best to suppress the traffic in firearms, and more than once asked for an interview so that the white men might form a defensive league against the savages. He wanted also to submit the whole quarrel between New Netherland and New Haven to the judgment of the governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth, but no meeting could be arranged, none of his proposals was accepted. Finally, in deference to the continual outcry about the 'insufferable burthens' laid upon trade at Manhattan, he removed temporarily the duties from all goods brought in by English vessels excepting malt and beer. Eaton then asking whether Englishmen were to have 'full freedom' of trade in every respect, and if not why not, Stuyvesant replied that he had already granted as much as he dared without direct orders from his superiors in Holland. Again Eaton brought charges against the Dutch traders who frequented the ports along the sound and especially against Govert Lockermans

and David Provoost who, he said, were not only selling arms to the Indians but also threatening that the Dutch would fight the English and engage the savages to help them.

Up the North River also old troubles were growing more acute. During the sixteen years that elapsed between the establishment of Rensselaerswyck and the death of the patroon in 1646 he had sent out only two hundred and ten settlers. A few had joined them who had immigrated in other ways, but the American-born among them were not yet grown and the settlement was still small. It was still administered from Holland by the two trustees of Kiliaen's son Johan, known as the second patroon. One of these trustees was Wouter Van Twiller. To take control on the spot they sent out Brandt Van Slechtenhorst. He boldly denied Stuyvesant's right to any authority within the patroonship. Stuyvesant insisted that the Company had the same rights there as in the other communities that had been formed within the province. In the spring of 1648 he went up to Fort Orange, forbade the patroon's officials to pass any trading regulations without his sanction, and ordered that no building in the little village of Beverwyck should stand within musket-shot of the fort which could not be protected if closely encircled. The site was part of the patroonship, Van Slechtenhorst maintained, adding that under any conditions the fort was a useless semblance of a stronghold. Giving orders for its repair Stuyvesant returned to Manhattan and sent up a few soldiers with directions to demolish any houses that might be begun on the forbidden tract. More wise than he, the soldiers refrained from violence; but they quarrelled so with the local authorities that the Indians marvelled and, highly indignant at the presence of 'Wooden Leg's dogs,' could hardly be kept from doing them hurt.

On Manhattan Wooden Leg's people more and more loudly complained that he did not impartially administer the laws against smuggling, exacted tariff dues to the amount of thirty per cent, which was much more than the Company had pre-

scribed, unduly favored the traders from New England at their expense, and was trying to engross the 'trade of the whole colony' for himself, having shops of his own, brew-houses, and shares in ships. When he condemned to death three persons whom he accused of trafficking in firearms 'many good men' protested so strenuously that he commuted the sentence. When he tried to collect the debts owing to the Company, including the tenths from the harvests which were to be paid after ten years' occupancy of land and were now falling due, the people cried that he was not discharging the Company's own debts and the Nine Men pointed out to him the 'desolate and ruinous' condition of his province. He consented to postpone the collection but otherwise, he said, could do no more than obey the Company's orders. Then the commonalty decided to appeal over the Company's head to the States General. Stuyvesant commended the idea but said that it must be carried out as he should prescribe. The English settlers, whom the Dutch had expected to support them, decided to stand aloof, and for the moment the project dropped.

Evidently, Stuyvesant's intention that six of the Nine Men should retire each year was not carried out. Only three new members — Adriaen Van der Donck, Oloff Stevensen, and Elbert Elbertsen who took the places of Damen, Bout, and Thomas Hall — were sitting in 1649. The board then asked the governor's permission to consult with the commonalty about sending delegates to Holland. He himself, he answered, must be the channel for all communications with the home authorities. The Nine Men promised to give him copies of whatever they might write but said that to appeal through him would be detrimental to the welfare of the province. Forbidden to call a public meeting they instructed their president, Van der Donck, to take the opinions of their constituents separately and secretly and to keep a journal from which an appeal could be compiled. Jansen, a member of the board in whose house Van der Donck was lodging, and Thomas Hall the ex-member told the governor what was going on. Then General Stuyvesant 'burned with rage.'

In person he searched Van der Donck's room and seized a rough draft of his journal. Upon its evidence he arrested and imprisoned the writer on a charge of *crimen lesæ majestatis;* he also arrested another of the Nine Men, Augustine Herrman; and to stop the agitation he revived Kieft's decree that no documents should be legal unless drawn up by Secretary Van Tienhoven, and forbade Domine Backerus to read from the pulpit without express permission anything that touched upon public affairs.

In spite of the Company's orders he had not mustered the burgher guard at regular intervals. Yet its organization persisted and its officers were looked upon as in some sort representatives of the people. Jacobus Van Couwenhoven was at this time captain of the company, Martin Cregier lieutenant, and Augustine Herrman one of the ensigns. Wishing to get support for himself Stuyvesant summoned these and the other officers and three or four delegates chosen by the commonalty to consult with his council, and told them that he meant to call two deputies from each 'colony,' including the English towns on Long Island, so that they might consider the sending of a 'mission' to the fatherland to promote the welfare of the province. As Vice-Director Van Dincklagen protested because all this was done without his concurrence and demanded the release of Van der Donck on bail, the governor released him but deposed him from the Board of Nine Men until such time as he should either prove or recant certain of the statements in his journal.

Meanwhile it was discovered that Stuyvesant, who had thought that transgressions of the law against the selling of arms deserved capital punishment, had himself imported a small consignment for the up-river Indians. He asserted that it was by the Company's orders, but popular feeling grew very hot and the return of Cornelis Melyn from Holland fanned it into a flame.

Although the West India Company had secured a renewal of its charter its prospects were darker than ever. The Treaty

of Münster, concluded by the United Netherlands with Spain in 1648, formally and finally established their independence. Spain kept the Flemish provinces; but as by the treaty the river Scheldt remained closed to commerce, a provision that held good until the time of the Napoleonic wars, and as Antwerp thus lost all hope of resuming its old rank among the seaports of the north, the commercial preëminence of the Republic was assured. The general Peace of Westphalia followed close upon the Treaty of Münster, ending the Thirty Years' War and establishing that idea with regard to a 'balance of power,' among the nations of the continent which, ostensibly inspired by dynastic considerations, really by commercial ambitions, was to figure so largely in future wars and treaties. Of course this general peace interfered with the privateering and smuggling industries from which the West India Company, making Curaçoa the centre of contraband trade in the Western world, had drawn a great part of its profits. Before the end of 1648 the Portuguese established in Brazil a trading association designed especially to oppose the Dutch Company; and this Company then declared that its 'total ruin and decline' must be expected if the government would not promptly give it aid.

To Stuyvesant it wrote that the low condition of his province was evidently the result of Kieft's neglect of duty, and that in trying to amend it he must use gentle methods with white men and red men. It reproved him for examining merchants' books and visiting their stores to discover smuggled goods, saying that such courses were contrary to the freedom in traffic which it had provisionally granted because, being as yet unable to retain the trade of the province for itself, it was obliged to 'content itself with the duty . . . until more favorable circumstances.' In this explanation lies the key to the Company's whole course with regard to New Netherland. It always wanted all the profits, it never gave any right or privilege except when it was forced to, and almost always it hoped to retract what it had bestowed.

Its true temper showed plainly in the matter of Melyn and

Kuyter and their complaints. It maintained, as firmly as did Governor Stuyvesant, that no appeals should be allowed to the home government. In spite of its efforts, however, the States General recognized this right in the case of Kuyter and Melyn, suspended the sentence that Stuyvesant had pronounced against them, and in a mandamus which recited the grievances of the appellants, the causes and results of the war that Governor Kieft had 'commenced against the Indians,' and the consequent danger that the province might be mastered by the English who had 'already got a smack of the productiveness and of the convenient navigable rivers of our New Netherland,' they summoned Director Stuyvesant and the members of his government to defend the aforesaid sentence at the Hague in person or by attorney. Pending a final decision of their case Kuyter and Melyn were permitted to return to New Netherland and there to enjoy their liberty and their property on the same footing as the other inhabitants, receiving from the States General a passport to this effect. The Company wrote to Stuyvesant that he might better not have meddled with the affairs of his predecessor in office. The Prince of Orange sent him a personal letter forbidding him to molest Melyn and Kuyter, and authorized them to serve him with the mandamus by the hand of any person they might select. Presumably they had explained that no such paper would be served by the regular officials under Stuyvesant's control.

After a hard voyage, says the account in the *Breeden Raedt*, Melyn arrived at New Amsterdam on January 1, 1649. Kuyter did not come with him. Twice Stuyvesant sent the secretary and the *schout-fiscal* to demand all his papers. Melyn gave them only his passport from the States General, saying that he would produce the others before the council in due time. The governor would then have thrown him into jail had not Van Dincklagen protested. The next morning, summoned again, Melyn appeared before the council and delivered all the 'orders and despatches' he had brought, and Stuyvesant promised to obey them. But he refused to

exonerate Melyn as publicly as he had condemned him. Melyn bided his time. On March 8 the commonalty convened in the church at the call of the governor who intended to have his 'ample commission' read to them and thus to vindicate his 'sovereign government' and to 'kill dead' or at least to suspend the orders of the States General. Having the mandamus still in his possession Melyn now confided it to Arnoldus Van Hardenbergh who was 'invited' to read it in the presence of the whole commonalty, some three hundred persons, and agreed so to do. Stuyvesant asked Melyn whether he meant thus to have the mandamus executed, and when Melyn said 'Yes' he seized the document from Van Hardenbergh's hands

> . . . so that the seal of their High Mightinesses hung to the parchment in halves, and if it had been paper only it could have been torn by this irreverent grabbing. When those who stood next to him earnestly admonished him to have respect for their High Mightinesses, a copy of the mandate was placed in his hands by Melyn and the original mandate was again put in the hand of the person executing it, who read it out loud, and required his answer thereto. Shortly afterwards, the lowest part of the seal fell off.

The words of the mandamus that figured in this lively scene may be read in our *Colonial Documents,* translated from the copy that was preserved in the archives of the States General. The mandamus itself is now in the library of the New York Historical Society with a number of papers that once belonged to Cornelis Melyn and his son. It is a large sheet, not in fact of paper but of vellum, folded into letter shape. It bears one uninjured incumbent seal with the device of their High Mightinesses the States General, a lion rampant holding a sword and a sheaf of seven arrows; and with it are preserved two similar seals which, as clearly may be seen, were torn from the sheet, — one from the outside, the other from the inside near the signature. It is possible that there was also a large pendant seal and that this was the one to which the *Breeden Raedt* refers as

having fallen off. But even as it stands the mandamus may well be thought to show proof of the irascible governor's 'irreverent grabbing.'

In a letter to the States General the governor protested against the

> . . . mutinous and indecent service on us of the mandamus publicly in the church on the 8th of March in the presence of the entire population of the Manhattans and adjoining villages then assembled on the public affairs of the country. . . .

The meeting broke up in disorder, he said, so that public business was neglected and 'massacre and bloodshed' might have followed if he had not converted himself 'from the highest to the lowest' and permitted the 'indecent service of the summons.'

Much more than this he was obliged to permit. He refused to go back to Holland, saying that he would send an attorney to represent him, and he continued to persecute Cornelis Melyn; but in regard to the major question of the day his wishes and prohibitions went for nothing now that public opinion was thoroughly aroused. The Nine Men prepared the much-desired *Petition* to the States General, attached to it many pages of *Additional Observations,* and also drew up that *Remonstrance of New Netherland to the States General of the United Netherlands* which to-day is one of the main fountains of knowledge regarding the early history of the province.

'In the name and on behalf of the Commonalty of New Netherland' the *Petition* and the *Observations* were signed on July 26, 1649, and the *Remonstrance* on July 28, all three by the same eleven persons — by the Nine Men then in office, including Van der Donck whom Stuyvesant had unseated, and by two who had previously served, Bout and Thomas Hall. Evidently Hall and Jansen had repented of their momentary defection from the people's cause. All the eleven signed without comment excepting Oloff Stevensen who would not deny his friendship for Governor Kieft and opposite

his name at the foot of the *Remonstrance* wrote: 'Under protest; obliged to sign as to the Heer Kieft's administration.' On all three papers the signatures are these, of course with diversities in spelling:

Adriaen Van der Donck,
Augustine Herrman,
Arnoldus Van Hardenbergh,
Jacob Van Couwenhoven,
Oloff Stevensen,
Michiel Jansen,
Thomas Hall,
Elbert Elbertsen,
Govert Lockermans,
Hendrick Hendricksen Kip,
Jan Evertsen Bout.

Two of these three papers, the *Petition* and the *Remonstrance*, were undoubtedly written by Van der Donck, for he had compiled the journal upon which they were based and some years later he adapted parts of the *Remonstrance* for use in a book published under his own name. The more bluntly vernacular style of the *Observations* seems to show the collaboration of less polished pens.

The *Petition* is a brief but bold, clear, and comprehensive statement of the needs of the province and the proper remedies therefor. It names eight causes for the 'very poor and most low condition' of New Netherland:

1. Unsuitable government; 2. Scanty privileges and exemptions; 3. Onerous imposts, duties, exactions, and such like; 4. Long-continued war; 5. The loss of the *Princess;* 6. A superabundance of petty traders and peddlers (*Schotten en Chinezen*), and a want of farmers and farm servants; 7. Great dearth in general; 8. and lastly, The insufferable arrogance of the natives or Indians arising from our smaller numbers, etc.

Among the remedies suggested are: exemption from imposts, tenths, and other burdens until the country shall become more populous and prosperous; freedom to trade in the produce of the country 'every way and everywhere' as is permitted in the fatherland itself; encouragement for the fisheries; the free transportation of agricultural immigrants; and the settlement of the boundaries of the province. But the

main demands are that, in view of the 'harsh proceedings and want of means' of the West India Company, the States General shall themselves assume the ownership and control of New Netherland, and shall grant it

> . . . suitable burgher (*borgerlycke*) government such as your High Mightinesses shall consider adapted to this province and somewhat resembling the laudable government of our Fatherland.

The *Additional Observations*, forming a commentary upon the *Petition*, are framed as a series of short statements elucidated by a multitude of foot-notes. They say that the government of the province, as administered in Holland by the Company, in New Netherland by its servants, is 'bad and intolerable.' They say that the petty traders

> . . . who swarm hither with great industry reap immense profit and exhaust the country without adding anything to its population and security, but if they skim a little fat off the pot they can take to their heels again.

They do not blame the New Englanders for protesting against the trading regulations of New Netherland because these are, in fact,

> . . . so selfish, onerous, and intolerable, yea, so devoid of good faith, that it is impossible to act in accordance with them.

Unjustly they censure the Company instead of the States General for the delay in settling boundary lines with New England. But truthfully they say that the Indians had never been troublesome until Kieft's war aroused and enraged them. Now, they explain, the only way to defend the province against its enemies, white and red, is to increase its population and to break the tyrannous rule of the Company. If, they add, the 'Dutch freemen' of the province were dependent only upon their fatherland as such and were granted a suitable local government, then they would enjoy

. . . firm, valid, and inviolable privileges whereby every man could with honesty be secure of his life, honor, and property in future, which now he is not.

The *Remonstrance of New Netherland* as it stands translated in our *Colonial Documents* covers more than forty quarto pages of close print. Intended to supply a solid foundation for the summarized statements and prayers of the *Petition*, it embraces a description of the country, its products, and its aborigines, an historical sketch of the internal fortunes and the border troubles of New Netherland, a statement of the Dutch title to its soil, and a remonstrance against the policy of the West India Company which includes a more detailed review of those 'sad and senseless extravagances' the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant. Throughout it is well conceived and well composed, instructive in matter, picturesque in manner, and ardent yet controlled in temper.

The West India Company, it says, had got 'no profit but heavy monthly bills' from its province because it had devoted itself to trade instead of to agricultural colonization, had incurred many needless outlays, one of which was the building of the great ship *New Netherland*, and had not honestly fulfilled its promises to the settlers especially in the way of supplying their needs and keeping tariff dues within reasonable bounds:

We highly approve of inspection according to the orders given by the Company to its officers. . . . But it ought nevertheless to be executed without partiality, which is not always the case. The duty is high; of inspection and seizures there is no lack, and thus lawful trade is turned aside except some little which is carried on only *pro forma* in order to push smuggling under this cloak. Meanwhile the Christians are treated almost like Indians in the purchase of necessaries which they cannot do without; this causes great complaint, distress, and poverty.

Also, it appears from the witness of the *Additional Observations*, the goods of Christian merchants were treated even

worse than those of Christian travellers sometimes have been in the modern port of New York:

> . . . the cargo is discharged into the Company's warehouse and there it proceeds so as to be a grief and vexation to behold, for it is all measured anew, unpacked, thrown about, and counted without either rule or order; besides which the Company's servants bite sharp and carry away.

Another crying evil, says the *Remonstrance,* was the despotic attitude of the governors, who comported themselves as though they were 'sovereigns of the country' and declared that there was no appeal to the courts of the fatherland — a statement which it was easy for them to make effectual as the people were few and the majority were 'very simple and uninformed' while those who were more intelligent and could 'walk on their own feet' were carefully conciliated. Kieft had spent no money for the public good except upon the church. That money the people had willingly contributed. What had become of the school fund they had raised no one could say. Stuyvesant had spent nothing except to finish the church and to build a wooden wharf. Each of these undertakings was 'of great use and very convenient,' but the governor was collecting annually about 30,000 guilders from the people in the way of 'duties, confiscations, excise etc.,' and he had promised to expend the whole for 'commendable and necessary public works.'

Director Stuyvesant's chance to assist his people, the *Remonstrance* explains, was much better than Director Kieft's for he had no war on his hands. Yet he was even more haughty — 'the word *Mijn Heer Generael* (My Lord General) and such like titles' had never been known in the province until he arrived. He was as tyrannical as Kieft in taxing his people without their consent and even more 'active and malignant' in looking up causes for prosecution. Many instances are cited in proof of this last charge. To show why the governor's councillors stood by each other to uphold 'the pretended sovereignty,' their faults and deficiencies are set forth and so

are the bullying methods that Stuyvesant employed when they differed from him in judgment, losing control of his temper, making 'such faces that it was frightful,' and using 'foul language better befitting the fishmarket than the council board.' Vice-Director Van Dincklagen had of late begun to protest, but he had to submit to many things, for the director told him at the council board that if he would not obey his wishes he would treat him worse than Wouter Van Twiller had ever done. For twenty-nine months Van Dyck the *schout-fiscal* had been excluded from the council, Stuyvesant saying that he could not keep a secret. He dared to do nothing, and this was perhaps as well for he drank so hard that he had a screw loose in his head. But upon Secretary Van Tienhoven falls the heaviest weight of reprobation:

> He is crafty, subtile, intelligent, sharp-witted — good gifts when properly applied. . . . He is a great adept at dissimulation and even when laughing intends to bite. . . . In his words and acts he is loose, false, deceitful, and given to lying; prodigal of promises and when it comes to performance, nobody is at home. The origin of the war is attributed principally to him and some of his friends. The Director was led astray by his false reports and lies, and this is the opinion of both reliable Indians and Christians. Now if the Voice of the People be, according to the maxim, the Voice of God, of this man hardly any good can with truth be said, and no evil concealed. With the exception of the Director and his party the whole country cries out against him as a villain, a murderer, and a traitor, and that he must quit this country or there will not be any peace with the Indians.

Furthermore, Van Tienhoven was noted among Indians and Christians for grossly dissolute living. Yet Stuyvesant had taken him over from Kieft as his chief adviser and confidant.

According to the *Observations* the Englishmen on the Connecticut admitted that the land belonged to the Dutch, excused their own presence by pointing out its richness and the fact that the Dutch had let it 'lie waste,' and although determined to remain there were willing to abide by any decision in respect to its government at which the powers in Europe might arrive. The *Remonstrance,* on the other hand, says

that they would not admit the Dutch right although they well knew it, and, far from excusing their invasion,

> . . . will now accuse us of this and similar things, all under the pretence of an exceedingly scrupulous conscience, and have forged and invented many things to serve them for a screen or fence, or indeed as a pretext for delay.

That is, as a pretext for delaying that settlement of boundary lines for which Stuyvesant continued to ask. Their one excuse for their intrusion was that the land was not 'wholly occupied,'

> . . . as if these people, who now by means of their greater numbers do as they please, were at liberty to dictate the law to our nation within its own purchased lands and limits, and to order how and in what manner it must settle the country, and if it do not happen to suit exactly their desire and pleasure, they are at liberty to invade and appropriate our waters, lands, and jurisdiction.

In summing up all these grievances and problems the *Remonstrance* says that public property ought to be rightly cared for; the church ought to be fostered; there should be a public school with at least two good masters instead of only one indifferent teacher irregularly supplied; there should be asylums for aged people and for orphans, and other 'similar institutions'; and above all:

> The country must also be provided with moral, honorable, and intelligent rulers who are not very indigent nor yet very covetous. A covetous ruler makes poor subjects, and the mode in which the country is now governed is a great affliction and not to be tolerated. . . . Good population should follow good government. . . . If a boundary were added . . . then with God's help everything would, in human probability, go well and New Netherland could be in a short time a brave place able, also, to be of service to the Netherland State, richly to repay expended outlays, and to thank her benefactors.

While the *Remonstrance* promised this, the *Additional Observations* gave voice to explicit warnings:

The country has arrived to that state that if it be not now assisted it will not need any aid hereafter because the English will wholly absorb it. . . . It will lose even the name New Netherland and no Dutchman will have anything to say there. . . .

If your High Mightinesses please to believe us we say, and it is a moral certainty, . . . there will not be another opportunity or season to remedy New Netherland for the English will annex it.

Even if these documents contained no praises of New Netherland, no assurances that under the right conditions it would quickly prosper and flourish, as much might be divined from the very vigor of the protests against existing conditions. Not hopelessness breeds discontent, but hope that is thwarted by causes seen to be removable; not mere misery, but a sense that a growing prosperity has been checked, or that a prosperity near to unfolding has been delayed, by a blight that effort may remove. It was natural that, with all their confidence in what the province could do for itself if it got the chance, its spokesmen should complain that the Company had not kept its pledges of assistance. Like most human beings the New Netherlanders wanted all that had been promised them, and did not want to do for themselves what others had engaged to do on their behalf. Moreover, paternalism had not yet been discredited as a method of government in any part of America. Even the men of Massachusetts, so fearful of government control from across the sea, thoroughly believed in paternalism at home and in many ways practised it in an extreme degree. Yet, anxious though the New Netherlanders were that if the West India Company should continue to control them it should be made to care for them as it had promised, they saw that to be independent of it would profit them more than to receive any amount of its paternalistic care. To those who live in larger communities some of the questions they raised may seem trivial, some of their complaints petty in spirit. But little things loom large in small places, and little acts of oppression may be more exasperating and really more injurious where rulers are in close daily contact with their people than greater ones com-

mitted indirectly from a distance. Again, unsatisfactory conditions and unpopular personages are, perhaps, sometimes too blackly painted in the *Remonstrance.* Yet even when the words are most censorious they almost always carry conviction because they frame definite charges with such scrupulous care. Quite pedantically the signers of the *Remonstrance* distinguish between facts proved and merely believed, between words repeated verbatim and merely paraphrased, between deeds witnessed by all men or only by a few; and at the end they say:

> High and Mighty Lords! We have taken the liberty to write this Remonstrance and to submit the case as we have done through our love of the truth and because we have felt bound to do so by our oath and conscience. It is true that all of us, either together or individually, have not seen, heard, or had a knowledge of the entire contents in every particular; nevertheless, it contains nothing but what some among us well know to be true and credible. We all know the greatest part of it to be the truth; some are acquainted with the remainder of it, and have also heard it from trustworthy persons and sincerely believe it to be wholly true.

For almost two hundred years after they served their immediate purpose these interesting papers, written by the forefathers of New York in a tongue strange to its modern ear, lay forgotten amid the archives of the country which soon indeed ceased to have 'anything to say' about the province it had created. Because of this eclipse, in which of course almost all the other written legacies of New Netherland were shrouded, all the early and many of the later chapters in the history of the province were for generations misunderstood. In consequence, the part that its inhabitants played in the slow but never ceasing colonial struggle for liberty has seldom been appreciated. The 'rapid change but slow progress of four hundred years' by which liberty has been preserved, secured, and extended, says Lord Acton, has been due to 'the combined efforts of the weak made under compulsion to resist the reign of force and constant wrong.' Seldom has any community as weak as was the one on Manhattan in 1649

— a community of a few hundred souls of diverse nationalities, most of them in poverty, many of them in distress — seldom has such a community made so dignified, sensible, and self-respecting an effort of this sort; never, perhaps, has such a one left so worthy and interesting a record thereof. The most remarkable of the many paragraphs of the *Remonstrance* are, perhaps, those that reveal a conscientious, generous humility of spirit in regard to the savages with whom a disastrous war had so recently been waged:

> We are also beholden in the highest degree to the Indians who not only surrendered this rich and fertile country and for a trifle made it over to us, but did, over and above, also enrich us with their valuable and mutual trade, so that there is none in New Netherland or trading to that country but is under obligation thereby. Great is our shame now, and fortunate should we be did we duly acknowledge this benefit and in return for what the Indians had shared with us of their substance endeavor, as much as in us lay, to divide with them the Good Eternal. It is to be feared that for this injury they will stand up against us at the last day. Lord of Hosts! forgive us that we have not hitherto comported ourselves better in this matter; but grant us the means and direct our hearts that we in future duly acquit ourselves herein unto the salvation of our own and their souls and the glorifying of Thy Holy name, for Christ his sake, Amen.

It is interesting to contrast this passage with one or another in which the New Englanders confessed that their sufferings at the hands of the savages were just scourgings for their own offences. For instance, we read in the records of Massachusetts that King Philip's War was an evident punishment for idleness and excessive drinking, for the neglect to instruct children properly in spiritual matters, and for the pride manifested by the long hair, natural or false, worn by the women and the strange and immodest fashions of apparel adopted by rich and poor. And when the war was over Increase Mather wrote:

> Where are the six Narragansett sachems and all their captains and councillors? Where are the Nipmuck sachems with their captains

and councillors? Where is Philip and the squaw-sachem of Pocasset with all their captains and councillors? God do so to all the implacable enemies of Christ and of his people of New England.

Other differences also appear when these Dutch papers are contrasted with those that the New Englanders sent across the sea. Their signers neither feared nor distrusted the government of their fatherland — *Patria* as they continued to call it. What they wanted in America was not to make themselves independent of Holland but to share in the benefits its home-keeping sons enjoyed, to reproduce the political conditions under which they lived. The men of New Amsterdam thought the government of Holland their best friend and were asking its help against the West India Company which, except to draw profit from the province, never inquired whether it 'sank or swam.' They wanted local self-government, not for theoretical reasons and not with the wish to set up a new commonwealth of their own, but because they had learned from happy experience in the Old World, from sad experience in the New, that it was the only foundation for security and progress, for corporate and for individual success. Therefore they could venture to be sincere and frank in their speech as the New Englanders could not when they were writing to the government in England. Nor, again, does it appear from the documents or the correspondence of this or of later years that the New Netherlanders ever thought of using one means of persuasion recognized as essential by the New Englanders during their long struggle to preserve their liberties — that means to which Shirley referred when he wrote to Bradford of Plymouth that 'many locks must be unlocked with the silver, nay, with the golden key.'

The documents of 1649 show also that the Dutch and semi-Dutch inhabitants of Manhattan and its neighborhood were making their struggle for autonomy unsupported. The up-river colonists gave them no aid. The patroon's officials were, indeed, fighting the West India Company but in the good old feudal way — for that ancient kind of liberty which meant

the right of overlords to do as they pleased. They cared nothing for the case of their enemy's subjects on Manhattan except as the outcome might weaken the Company's authority and thus enlarge their own. The Englishmen near Manhattan, content for the moment with the town charters they had secured, also kept to themselves, hatching schemes of their own. Thomas Hall, the refugee from Virginia, seems to have been the sole Netherlander of English birth who stood with the Dutch petitioners. The other Englishmen were the only persons in the province, except some of Stuyvesant's subordinates in office, who declared themselves content with his administration and with the Company's control.

It is not even indirectly true, as has often been said since Bancroft so affirmed, that the 'large emigration from New England' inspired New Netherland's desire for self-government. Neither the *Petition* nor the *Remonstrance* of 1649 is tinged with English ideas. Neither mentions the New Englanders except as dangerous enemies. And although the *Additional Observations* describe with great praise the methods of government that prevailed in the United Colonies they do so merely to accentuate the general truth that colonies thrive best, that all communities thrive best, when they govern themselves. Nowhere do they hint that the petitioners had got from the English their perception of this truth, and nowhere do they say that they want rights and privileges modelled upon New England patterns. They say that New Netherland ought to have, like its neighbors, entire freedom in trade and respectable men to direct its affairs; and they say so because there was 'fundamentally an equality' in condition and in needs between the Dutch and the English colonies. But they do not ask that New England institutions shall be reproduced in New Netherland. Under the 'laudable government' of *Patria* they had learned the nature and the worth of liberty, and in accordance with the precedents of *Patria* they wished the government of the province to be framed.

It may be said again that the local institutions they desired were not such as would have contented Englishmen in America.

But the term 'burgher government' implied much more than it seems to when translated. Municipal government did not mean to the Dutchman merely what it meant at the time to an Englishman or what it means to an American to-day. The United Netherlands were a loose confederation of seven sovereign provinces each of which was a republic built up of many smaller republics — chartered cities and towns and the manors that had survived from feudal times. Through their local magistracies these little republics administered their own affairs while some of them, specially privileged, joined in choosing the delegates who formed the provincial assemblies or States. These States in their turn chose the delegates from each province who formed the States General, and this central body held only such powers as the States agreed among themselves to confer upon it. In fact, none of these bodies, central or provincial, was a sovereign legislature like our senates and assemblies. Each was simply a body of delegates held with great strictness to the duty of executing the will of the lower assemblies or the local councils which they represented and to which they had to refer back their decisions for confirmation. Thus the real power over the destinies of the great Republic rested with the little local republics and chiefly with the cities, for the representatives of the cities cast many more votes in the provincial States than did the manorial lords — in the States of the province of Holland, for instance, eighteen votes as against one which represented the nobility as a whole. It is plain, therefore, that when New Amsterdam demanded 'burgher government' it was asking for what it intended should grow into a directing, controlling force in that provincial government which, it may be pointed out, had itself been modelled upon the municipal precedents of the fatherland.

At once the Nine Men selected three of their number — Van der Donck, Van Couwenhoven, and Bout — to carry their petitions to Holland, giving them a letter of credence to the States General. Van Dincklagen wrote that as he had not

been able to dissuade the commonalty from sending these envoys he hoped they would secure an audience; they were thoroughly conversant with the affairs of the country and, he believed, intended what was right. Cornelis Melyn went with them to plead his own cause afresh, being 'weary of suffering without any fault of his own.' Greatly alarmed, Stuyvesant despatched Secretary Van Tienhoven to present his side of the case.

In spite of active opposition from the West India Company the States General graciously received Van der Donck and his colleagues and before the end of the year referred to a committee all their papers and those that Stuyvesant had sent. By this time another antagonist had entered the field, contending less on behalf of New Amsterdam than against the Company on other grounds — Wouter Van Twiller, urging the pretensions of Rensselaerswyck to more respect than they had received either from the Company at home or from its representatives on Manhattan. Domine Backerus supported the pleas of his flock by prayers of his own. And the printing-press of the fatherland was soon set to work to speak for the province.

It was in 1649 that the *Breeden Raedt* was published at Antwerp. *Broad Advice to the United Netherland Provinces* it is commonly called in English although there has been some question as to the accuracy of this translation. It was one among many pamphlets of the time which, from one vulnerable point or another, attacked the West India Company in the effort to discredit it with the public and to induce the States General to abandon it altogether. A tract of some forty-five pages, the *Breeden Raedt* is wholly devoted to the affairs of New Netherland and is the most striking and interesting commentary upon them that was produced in the fatherland. The 'broad advice' is given in the form of a conversation between a Dutch skipper and a Dutch boatswain, a Portuguese sailor from Brazil, a Swedish student, a Spanish barber, a French merchant, a Neapolitan, a Pole, a 'High-Dutch gentleman,' and a 'poor English nobleman.' Lively

indeed is their conversation, in which the skipper and the Portuguese take the lead in abusing the Company. A satire in intention, and a very bitter one in temper, it has not the same authority, of course, as the simple and direct complaints and expositions of the New Netherlanders themselves. But if read with discretion it greatly helps to illuminate their words, and, as has already been shown, it records more than one fact or incident in the history of the province that is otherwheres unchronicled or not fully set forth. Many commentators have fixed upon Cornelis Melyn as its author but the most learned and careful of them all, Asher, does not accept this supposition. Certainly in its exaggerated accusations and its rude and violent modes of expression the *Breeden Raedt* differs as greatly from the papers Melyn is known to have written as it does in its dramatic form. The defence of himself and Kuyter that Melyn laid before Governor Stuyvesant's court, highly rhetorical in style and sprinkled with quotations from classical authors and apostolic fathers, might have been written by a Leyden professor. It would have meant literary genius to be able to pass from such a style to the bold, virulent, roughly effective style of the *Breeden Raedt.* More sensibly this may be credited to the pen of one of the professional pamphleteers who abounded in Holland.

In January, 1650, the delegates from New Amsterdam prepared from the papers they had brought with them an abstract, in the shape of sixty-eight briefly stated charges, which they called a *Short Digest of the Excesses and Highly Injurious Neglect which New Netherland has Experienced Since it has been Placed under the Company.* The original of the Company's reply to this *Digest* still exists, in the handwriting of Cornelis Van Tienhoven. It proves scarcely anything except the anger of the Company with the inhabitants of its province and its undisguised contempt for their complaints.

Then the envoys from New Netherland laid its case before the people of the fatherland, printing the *Remonstrance* in a slightly altered form but with the same name — *Vertoogh*

van Nieu Nederland — as a quarto pamphlet of twenty-nine pages. In February the directors of the Company wrote to General Stuyvesant:

> Formerly New Netherland was never spoken of; and now heaven and earth seem to be stirred up by it, and everyone tries to be the first in selecting the best pieces there. . . .
>
> If we were to relate all the intrigues set to work here by the said deputies, Cornelis Melyn, and Wouter Van Twiller, to rob the Company of the land so dearly bought with money and blood, we should either not have time enough or our memory would shrink from the task. . . . Your apprehensions concerning Domine Backerus, the preacher, have, as you expected, been verified. He has made common cause with the complainants come from your parts, silly people — or at least the majority of them — who have been badly misled by a few seditious persons, like Cornelis Melyn, Adriaen Van der Donck, and some others. These men seem to leave nothing untried to upset every form of government, pretending that they suffered under too heavy a yoke. Wouter Van Twiller confirms them in this opinion and aims at the command of the whole North River; he admits publicly that he does not intend to allow anyone to navigate the river for the purpose of trade. . . .

The Company was not satisfied with Stuyvesant, blaming him almost as much as Kieft for the troubles and disorders in its province, yet it publicly sustained his course and continued to write to him in an amicable if reproachful strain. Meanwhile the envoys pressed for a decision on their appeals, saying that the governor was now acting in direct opposition to the Nine Men, and bringing witnesses to prove that these officials dared not express their wishes in the face of his violent enmity. In April the Company wrote to the governor that it had been forced to ask the aid of the city of Amsterdam in upholding its rights in its province:

> Very likely a great explosion would have been the result if it had not been prevented by the careful management of the Honorable Deputies from their High Mightinesses who have discovered means by which they expect to satisfy provisionally either side.

This scheme, submitted to their High Mightinesses the States General by their committee in April after much con-

sultation with the directors of the Company, was called a Provisional Order for the Government, Preservation, and Population of New Netherland. It prescribed that no hostilities with the Indians should again be entered upon without the knowledge of the home government, and that Damen and Planck, who had been instrumental in bringing on Kieft's war, should be examined by this government. It said that the militia of the province should be properly enrolled and armed; that good schoolmasters and three competent clergymen should be provided; that agriculture should be fostered and trade with Brazil encouraged; that the Company should annually expend 15,000 guilders in transporting poor emigrants, and that all private vessels should be obliged to carry those who would pay. It ordered that:

> On the increase of population and the augmentation of inhabitants a Council of Justice shall be erected within the province;
>
> And within the City of New Amsterdam a Burgher Government consisting of a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens.

Meanwhile the Nine Men should continue three years longer with independent judicial powers in small private cases. Two of the five members of the governor's council should be elected from among the residents of the country on the nomination of delegates from the commonalty and the patroons of colonies; they should be asked to give consent to the imposition of duties and taxes; and they should arrange for their payment and for the collection and management of the public funds 'on such footing as their constituents shall order.' Furthermore, General Peter Stuyvesant should return to the Hague to report, and a 'suitable person' experienced in agricultural matters should be sent out in his stead.

This Provisional Order, which the committee asked the States General to ratify and to impose upon the West India Company, did not grant all that the New Netherlanders asked, but if it had been carried out they would have been satisfied for the time. Even the framing of it greatly stimulated emigration to the province.

Immigration from New England also continued. In 1649 so prominent a person as the younger John Winthrop, who three years before had taken his family from Boston to a settlement he had begun at the mouth of the Pequot River (now New London), thought of moving again and asked George Baxter what privileges settlers under the Dutch enjoyed. Baxter answered, in March, 1650:

> For what the English enjoy, in general, are these: each respective town settled by them have the choice of their own magistrates and regulated by such civil orders as they shall make among themselves concerning town affairs; the said magistrates have power to determine absolutely without appeal all actions under 50 guilders for debt, trespass, or fine, and to pass sentence in all other actions of a greater sum, and cause execution thereof if the party condemned maketh not appeal in eight days' time to the superior court. For deprivation of life, limb, or member the delinquents are to be tried by the superior court and by them adjudged. Liberty of conscience according to the custom of Holland is granted unto all. For matter of acknowledgment we are to pay the tenth part of what shall be produced by the plough or hoe after the expiration of ten years, and to be paid in the field before it is housed; for other public taxes we are to be altogether exempt from.

Baxter also wrote that he had often heard Governor Stuyvesant say that Winthrop would be 'acceptably welcome unto him.' To the great subsequent profit of Connecticut Winthrop decided to remain where he was.

In 1649 the elder John Winthrop died at Boston. Writing then to Governor Eaton of New Haven Stuyvesant said:

> I do really condole with you, we being all of us in these parts participators in the sad loss of one whose wisdom and integrity might have done much in composing matters between us.

In truth, although Winthrop did not love the New Netherlanders and was over-ready to believe evil reports of them, he had been their best friend in New England and had done what he could to keep the peace between them and their nearer neighbors.

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CHAPTER X

'SUITABLE BURGHER GOVERNMENT'

1650–1653

(GOVERNOR STUYVESANT)

We have already connived as much as possible at the many impertinences of some restless spirits in the hope that they might be shamed by our discreetness and benevolence. . . . Yet to stop the mouth of all the world we have resolved . . . to permit you to erect there a Court of Justice formed as much as possible after the custom of this city. . . . And we presume that it will be sufficient at first to choose one schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens. — *Directors of the West India Company to the Governor and Council of New Netherland. 1652.*

NEW AMSTERDAM was growing more and more disconsolate. It was not left without spiritual helpers: Domine Megapolensis who had finished his term of service at Rensselaerswyck and was about to go home consented to fill the place that Domine Backerus had vacated, the classis of Amsterdam sent out a schoolmaster to replace Jan Stevensen and another for Fort Orange, and there was even talk of founding an academy. But enterprise of every kind was checked by doubt regarding the political future, by Stuyvesant's 'promptness in confiscation' on charges of smuggling, by the lack of any circulating medium except wampum, by the threatening and sometimes murderous conduct of the restless Indians, and by winter weather so cold that the approaches to Manhattan were impassable and, as one letter-writer explained, the ink froze in the pen. Stuyvesant asked the Company for ten thousand guilders' worth of small coin but got none at all. Food supplies ran so short that he prohibited the exportation

of grain and bread and the use of wheat in brewing; yet by the Company's orders he was obliged to send provisions to its colonists at Curaçoa. Moreover, the commissioners of the United Colonies now struck the hardest blow yet given to the traffic of Manhattan, declaring that, as the Dutch and French forbade all aliens to trade with the Indians within their borders, New England would do the same.

In June, 1650, the prospect brightened. Two of the people's envoys, Bout and Van Couwenhoven, then returned in triumph bearing a copy of the Provisional Order, and New Amsterdam rejoiced as for a victory surely won. Disappointment followed fast. Stuyvesant refused to publish the Order of which his superiors did not approve, and his people soon knew as well as he did that the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber were fighting with all their force against its adoption. He could judge from its tenor, the directors wrote him,

> . . . how much trouble we have had and how dangerous it is to draw upon yourself the wrath of a growing community. We must suppose that you have trusted too much to some of these ringleaders or become too intimate with them. Now that their ingratitude and treachery have come to light you must still act with the cunning of a fox and treat them in regard to the past conformably with the above-mentioned resolutions, to prevent that a new mistake may make matters worse than the first one did, and that we may not be troubled any more with such contemptuous bickerings, the more so as the Company is already sufficiently embarrassed.

Even before the Provisional Order was drawn up many would-be emigrants had applied for passage to New Netherland, and it was proposed that several hundred charity children should be sent out. The Company did not supply ships to meet these demands, and when the delegates of New Amsterdam asked permission to take out two hundred farmers the States General decided first to hear what the Amsterdam Chamber had to say. Now, however, the directors themselves wrote to Stuyvesant that many 'free people' had taken passage in the ship that was to carry their letter,

. . . and we hope that a greater number shall follow by every vessel. As people here encourage each other with the prospect of becoming great lords there, if inclined to work, it may have a good result.

As a sop to its critics the Amsterdam Chamber issued a new Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. Confirming the enlargement of the trading rights of New Netherland it also confirmed the autocratic powers of the director and his council. Of course this increased the arrogance of General Stuyvesant. He refused to obey the order of recall from the States General unless the Company should release him from his oath of office, knowing that it had told the States that his return was 'entirely unnecessary'; and even if he had been willing to try he would hardly have been able to display the 'cunning of a fox.' So, as the Nine Men wrote to the committee appointed by the States General to examine into the affairs of the province, the commonalty lived 'in fear and anguish,' all men conscious that the governor could still injure them, and all afraid to associate with their neighbors because 'one friend' could not speak to another 'without being suspected.'

Persistently the governor flouted and insulted the Nine Men, descending even to trivial persecutions like taking their pew in the church for his own use. This treatment gradually shook the faith of the people in their representatives, who wrote again to Holland:

The people are greatly imposed on; men will fain hang and burn the Selectmen and, moreover, while duly observing our honor and oath etc. The affliction which the poor Commonalty here live under cannot be any longer endured; they are more and more oppressed. . . . We are obliged to listen every day to scoffs and sneers from many because their High Mightinesses have done nothing in the matter of the Redress. . . .

Van Dincklagen wrote to Van der Donck that from these High Mightinesses every one was anxiously expecting 'absolute redress':

I have enough to do to keep the people quiet. The abuses and faults are as notorious as the sun at clear noon. . . . To describe the state of this government to one well acquainted and conversant with it is a work of supererogation. 'Tis to wash a blackamoor white. Our great Muscovy Duke goes on as usual, with something of the wolf; the older he gets, the more inclined he is to bite. He proceeds no longer by words or writing but by arrest and stripes. We daily expect redress and a remedy.

Augustine Herrman wrote, also to Van der Donck:

We are not only threatened, plagued, obstructed, and affronted but shall be also totally ruined. Govert Lockermans is totally ruined because he will not sign that he knows and can say nothing of Director Stuyvesant but what is honest and honorable. . . . That infernal wind-bag, Van Tienhoven, has returned here and put the country in a blaze. . . . Your private estate is going all to ruin, for our enemies know how to fix all this and to obtain their object. There is no use in complaining; we must suffer injustice for justice. At present that is our wages and thanks for devotion to the public interests. Yet we shall trust in God.

Even the governor's council took its turn in finding fault with the Company. There was not a man in New Amsterdam, it wrote, but believed that the heavy customs dues were the cause of the 'intolerable scarcity and disorder' and the want of population in the province.

In Holland Cornelis Van Tienhoven had got himself into the courts of law by his licentious course of life. Against the express commands of the States General he returned to America, and he took with him a 'basket-maker's daughter' whom he had seduced under promise of marriage although he had a wife in New Amsterdam. When he arrived Stuyvesant trusted and favored him as before, and as before he 'scattered firebrands through the community.' Knowing how the Company resented all interference by the States General in the affairs of its province Stuyvesant ignored their order to muster the burgher guard at regular intervals and confiscated two hundred muskets and a stand of colors that they had sent out for it; and he forbade to practise a notary

public, one Dirck Van Schelluyne, to whom they had given a commission when they learned that New Netherland had no functionary of the kind. Vice-Director Van Dincklagen he deposed and thrust from the council because he had joined with Van Dyck in sending a protest to Holland, and when he would not retire bade the soldiers drag him away and lock him up in the guard-house. Van Dyck, now the *schout-fiscal*, who seems to have been as intemperate as the *Remonstrance* declared, he punished in unworthy ways, charging him to keep the pigs out of the fort and beating him upon occasion with his cane; and when at last he removed him on charges of drunkenness he put a worse man, Van Tienhoven, in his place, promoting him thereby to a seat on the 'supreme council' of three. So, he said, the Nine Men had desired. They had desired, said the Nine Men, nothing of the kind.

Only his English subjects spoke up on Stuyvesant's behalf. Those at Gravesend had sent a letter to the Company by the hands of Van Tienhoven, and now they despatched another signed by George Baxter, who was *schout* of the town, and a number of others. Asking for a supply of ammunition and a detachment of soldiers for their protection they declared that they desired to 'remain residing without any change' under the authority of the Company. They would be 'unworthy,' they said, 'to enjoy the benefits and freedoms' it had kindly granted them if they could wish to abridge its rights. Being intrusted with the government of their own town they knew how easily 'manifold troubles' might arise; they were deeply grieved to hear that complaints had been uttered in Holland, and they begged that the Company would take pains to prevent such things in the future, explaining:

> This in our opinion, we humbly conceive, will best be done by maintaining and upholding our present governor against all malignant persons, our superiors in Holland paying no attention to the reports of dissatisfied persons; for we have had such experience of his affection for the general welfare of this place, and of his carefulness over us in the execution of the public service committed to him, that we

are anxious that he be still continued so that we may live under his government.

By this time Stuyvesant had arranged with the New Englanders for a conference about boundary lines. In September he went, by water of course, with a 'large suite' to Hartford where the commissioners of the United Colonies were in session. His hosts greeted him with great civility and honor but, when the negotiations began in writing, refused to receive a letter which he dated 'New Haven in New Netherland,' insisting that he should write 'in New England,' compromising upon 'in Connecticut.' All the lands between Cape Cod and Cape Henlopen, Stuyvesant declared, were Dutch 'for matter of title' and those around Hartford were 'the proper demesne' of the West India Company, having been bought and paid for and duly surrendered by 'the then right proprietors, the natives.' After much correspondence the commissioners agreed to his proposal that 'indifferent persons' should serve as arbitrators, choosing Simon Bradstreet of Massachusetts and Thomas Prince of Plymouth, both notable personages, while Stuyvesant also chose two Englishmen — his secretary George Baxter and Captain Thomas Willett of Plymouth. This was the Willett who in earlier years had signed the contract about building the church in Fort Amsterdam, and who was to serve in later years as the first mayor of the city of New York. It has been thought that he was one of the eighteen children of Andrew Willett of Barley in Hertfordshire, an Anglican clergyman widely known in his day as a theological writer. The records of Robinson's Separatist congregation at Leyden show, however, that he was one of its members and give Norwich as his place of birth or residence in England. He came to Plymouth not with the first band of Pilgrims but twelve years later, in 1632, and, engaging in trade with Holland as well as in coastwise traffic, at least as early as 1639 was a familiar figure on Manhattan.

It was agreed, again on Stuyvesant's motion, that the

treaty to be drawn up by the four arbitrators should deal with four matters:

> 1. A composing of differences; 2. A provisional limit of land; 3. A course concerning fugitives; 4. A neighborly union.

As finally drafted it settled only two of these matters, postponing the neighborly union for protection against the savages until the authorities in Europe could be consulted and referring to them the settlement of differences — that is, of the many wrongs complained of by both parties. On the other hand it pledged the New Netherlanders to observe the regulations about fugitives from justice that were laid down for the United Colonies. This clause has a special historic interest as marking the one and only instance in which, at this or at any other time, the legislative enactments of New Netherland were influenced by those of its neighbors. It has also been regarded by some historians as the prototype of the fugitive slave laws of much later times.

Furthermore, the treaty left open the question of Dutch and English rights in the Delaware region, but elsewhere drew definite boundary lines. The English, it said, were to possess all the eastern parts of Long Island to a line running northward from the ocean to 'the westernmost part of Oyster Bay.' On the mainland the dividing line was to begin west of Greenwich Bay, thence to run northward for twenty miles, and beyond that to be left for future determination by the governments of New Netherland and New Haven, with the provisos that it should nowhere come within ten miles of River Mauritius and that the Dutch should nowhere build within six miles of it. Also, the Dutch were to keep their fort and little plot of ground at Hartford. These 'bounds and limits' were to be kept inviolate

> . . . both upon the island and the main . . . both by the English of the United Colonies and all the nation without any encroachment or molestation until a full and final determination be agreed upon in Europe by the mutual consent of the two states of England and Holland.

This Hartford Treaty laid down the first international boundary lines agreed upon for any territories in North America. It was not concluded between any New England colony and New Netherland but, as its own words say,

> . . . betwixt the delegates of the honored commissioners of the United English Colonies and the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant Governor-General of New Netherlands.

It was signed by these four 'delegates' on September 29 according to the New Style calendar which the Dutch had used since 1582, on September 19 according to the Old Style mode of reckoning adhered to by the English until 1753. Four days later, spread with other documents upon the records of the federal commissioners, it was 'agreed to and subscribed' by them. The two 'umpires,' as they called themselves, who had acted for the Dutch said in a 'relation of the negotiations' which they prepared in the following year to be sent to Holland that it was also agreed at the time that all persons who might afterwards settle on either side of the determined boundaries should 'absolutely depend on and belong under' the government there existing and 'not have any dependency on the other.' No translation of the treaty exists among our Dutch documents.

In accepting this treaty Governor Stuyvesant granted everything that the New Englanders had yet distinctly claimed except the right to settle on the South River. He sent no word to his people of what he had done, and told them when he returned to Manhattan that 'nothing special was transacted.' The true story came in a letter labelled *News from New England* which was secretly brought to New Amsterdam and thrown in at the window of an English resident. It showed that Stuyvesant himself had hoped for better terms, saying:

> He made a great complaint against his two chosen agents, crying out, 'I've been betrayed, I've been betrayed!' Which hearing, some of the English who were waiting outside supposed that he had

run mad and were disposed to go and fetch people to tie him. It seems he never imagined that such hard pills would be given him to digest. . . . New England is thoroughly united with the Dutch governor to her satisfaction, and is well content with him, and speaks of him in terms of great praise especially because he is so liberal and hath allowed himself to be entrapped by her courtesy and hath conceeded Greenwich.

Stuyvesant's disappointment seems to be attested also by the fact that he sent no copy of the treaty to Holland. Probably he could not have got better terms even if he had chosen Dutchmen as his 'umpires.' Naturally his people did not think so. It would have been well for his province if the terms he did get had been ratified at once in Europe, for the wide and valuable tracts he surrendered were too thickly populated by Englishmen ever to be reclaimed for Holland, while the treaty formally asserted that those actually occupied by Dutchmen composed the 'Dutch province of New Netherland.' But, again, Stuyvesant's people could not understand these truths. They felt that a boundary still unsettled would have been better than one which, depriving them of the great 'wampum factory' at Oyster Bay, forced them 'to eat oats out of English hands,' and which surrendered not only the Fresh River and the Red Mount that the English called New Haven but even Greenwich, the English settlement nearest their own, the one that Governor Kieft had compelled to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

When the news of the treaty reached Holland Van der Donck was quick to explain, in a careful *Memorial on the Boundaries of New Netherland*, how the Englishmen had 'pulled the wool' over Stuyvesant's eyes. This was only one of his many efforts to keep the affairs of the province fresh in the mind of the fatherland and to force the granting of 'redress.' He greatly desired to return with his family to New Netherland but the Amsterdam Chamber, against the advice of the other chambers of the Company, forbade its skippers to receive him on any ship. It might better

have let him go. Standing now alone at the Hague he continued with intelligence and valor to fight the battle of New Amsterdam as well as to further in all possible ways the despatch of emigrants from Holland. The ink at New Amsterdam was certainly not frozen at this time, and Van der Donck laid before the States General all the official letters he received with many private ones bearing witness to the governor's violent words and tyrannical deeds.

Cornelis Melyn sailed from Holland again under a safe-conduct from the States General and in charge of some seventy colonists sent out by a wealthy merchant, Jonkheer Van der Capellen tho Ryssel, who had bought a half-share in Melyn's Staten Island patroonship. The Company had instructed Stuyvesant that he need not respect safe-conducts given by the government, so he felt free to arrest Melyn, who was forced to put into a Rhode Island port to repair his ship, on a charge of illegal trading. Melyn rebelled. The governor confiscated and sold his property on Manhattan and also sold the vessel and cargo which belonged to Van der Capellen, finding a purchaser for the ship in Thomas Willett. For this outrage Van der Capellen afterwards obtained in Holland heavy damages from the West India Company.

Fearing to show himself in New Amsterdam Melyn fortified his house on Staten Island and guarded it with Raritan Indians, and Van Dyck took refuge with him when he was released from confinement in the fort. Thus actual resistance was added to almost universal opposition, there were 'uproars' in the streets of New Amsterdam, the council thought best to give the governor a guard of halberdiers, and letters of complaint from the selectmen and from private individuals flew in flocks across the sea.

Orders from Holland had soon reinstated Van Dincklagen as vice-director, but he refused to serve and the governor was now acting with a council of only two or three members. In December the Nine Men wrote complaining of the Hartford Treaty and describing the 'sorrowful and utterly prostrate condition' of the country. They themselves, they

informed Van der Donck, could undertake naught for they were 'nothing more than ciphers and esteemed as a scoff.' Stuyvesant even refused to act on their nomination of new members to take the place of those whose terms were expiring. Yet they remained in office and continued to do what they could to supply Van der Donck with fresh ammunition.

Before he left Holland Van Tienhoven had drawn up a reply to the people's *Remonstrance* which consisted chiefly of abuse of their leaders. To rebut their complaints he did indeed bring forward one valid reason why the Company should collect customs dues, saying that, although the New Englanders paid none, all their 'property and means' were taxed in other ways to support their government, civil and military, while the Company assumed this burden for New Netherland. Speciously, however, he argued that of the three taxes levied in New Netherland — which, he said, were an excise on wine of one stiver per can, an excise on beer of three guilders per tun, and a duty of eight per cent on beavers — only the first fell upon the burgher, the tapster paying the second and not the colonist but the merchant in Holland the third. More intelligently the people's spokesmen had said that however taxes were laid and collected the colonist eventually paid them. In general the policy of the Amsterdam Chamber and its spokesmen all through this long contention was not to argue and not to try to refute arguments but boldly to maintain that all its acts had been right and wise, that no better director-general than Peter Stuyvesant could be found, and that the remonstrants were a 'mutinous rabble' whose appeals were unlawful because neither the other chambers of the Company nor the States General had 'the least authority over New Netherland.'

Excepting the employees of the Company the only people in its province who echoed its words were still the English residents. Far from being the planters of the first seeds of liberty in New Netherland, in 1651 they actually opposed the demand of the Dutch residents for a share in the govern-

ment. The men of Gravesend then wrote to the West India Company:

> We willingly acknowledge that the frequent change of government, or the power to elect a governor from among ourselves which is, we know, the design of some here, would be our ruin and destruction by reason of our factions and the difference of opinion obtaining among us; as there are many here who are unwilling to submit themselves to any sort of government be it mild or strong. It must be one of compulsion and force until the governor's authority be finally established. For such persons will not only scorn and contemn or disobey authority and by their bad example seduce others, whereby the laws will become powerless, but everyone would desire to do just what pleased himself. In fine, the strongest would devour the weakest. As for elections, we should be subjected to many inconveniences, inasmuch as we are not provided nor supplied with persons fit or qualified for such an office.
>
> 'Tis not with us as in our fatherland or as in kingdoms and republics which are established and settled by long and well-experienced laws and fundamentals, best agreeing with the condition of the people. But in our little body made up of divers members, namely, folks of different nations, many things occur in the laying of a foundation for which there are no rules or examples, and therefore must be fixed at the discretion of a well-experienced government; for we are as a young tree or little sprout now for the first time shooting forth into the world, which, if it be watered and nursed by your Honors' liberality and attention, may hereafter grow up a blooming Republic.

This early prophecy of a possible republic in America would be more interesting if it had a more genuine ring. It was spoken to please republicans in Holland by men who, thinking that they had made themselves indispensable to the owners and rulers of New Netherland, hoped for special trading privileges such as no Dutch settler had ever asked. That is, in the same letter these Englishmen begged, for themselves alone, for such an exemption from customs dues as would have given them a practical monopoly in the importation of all kinds of merchandise including negro slaves. In a similar strain their compatriots at Hempstead also wrote to the West India Company.

William Coddington, the head of one of the factions that

were disputing in Rhode Island, asked the Dutch governor at this time to lend him military aid, and for a moment Stuyvesant seems to have thought of consenting. One thing that he had made plain at the Hartford meeting was that he would never consent to any intrusion in the South River country, yet the New Haven people now tried again to get a foothold there. The ship that they sent down touched at Manhattan, and Stuyvesant kept the fifty intending colonists under arrest until they pledged themselves in writing to abandon their enterprise. Of course they complained to the federal commissioners and these protested to Stuyvesant, calling his conduct 'unjust and unneighborly.' Once again he informed Governor Eaton that he would resist any such attempt 'even unto blood.'

The West India Company, he knew, was now trying to induce the queen of Sweden to settle boundary lines on the much-disputed river. It had instructed him meanwhile to maintain its rights there 'in all justice and equity.' The desire of the New Englanders to intrude there, he thought, merely foreshadowed their intent to overrun the whole of New Netherland; nor had his emissaries been able to settle matters with Governor Prinz as he thought they should be settled. His inability to travel far by land, he once wrote to the governor of New Haven, must be well known. But in spite of his years and his wooden leg, in spite of frequent illnesses, and in spite of the difficulties and dangers of seventeenth-century voyaging along unlighted, unbuoyed, and almost uncharted shores, he was always eager to make any journey on inland or on ocean waters which he thought the interests of his province demanded; and he never felt bound to wait for the consent of his superiors. So now he started for the South River with several vessels and a hundred and twenty men, meaning to get from Governor Prinz a clear recognition of the Dutch title and to make a pact with him to exclude the English. His methods were more energetic than tactful. He pulled down the old Dutch Fort Nassau and built another which he called Fort Casimir farther down the river, below

the Swedish Fort Christina. Thus he got control of the navigation of the river, and under the walls of the new fort he settled a number of families whom he had brought from New Amsterdam. Prinz resented all this as a trespass upon his territories, but after much parleying the two governors parted on friendly terms.

The Company reproved Stuyvesant when it heard what he had done, fearing that it would embroil the Republic with Sweden. The cost of his expedition was so heavy that during the year 1652 he could pay only fifty per cent on his official obligations at Manhattan; and this fact increased, of course, the impatience with which his people were awaiting 'redress.'

In 1650 the Company declared that the owners of Rensselaerswyck had no right to the Catskill region which they were trying to annex and that, in spite of their pretensions, there must be free traffic up and down the North River to Fort Orange. In 1651 Stuyvesant demanded a subsidy from Rensselaerswyck toward the cost of his South River expedition. The director of the patroonship, Van Slechtenhorst, went to New Amsterdam to arrange the matter. Stuyvesant detained him four months under arrest. Then he escaped and, returning to his post, called upon the householders and freemen of his colony to take an oath to defend its rights. Among the two score persons who complied was a recent comer, Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, a brother of the second patroon (who had succeeded his father Kiliaen in 1646) and the first member of the family to set foot on the great estate acquired twenty years before. Disputes and broils continuing between the settlers and the garrison, in the spring of 1652 Stuyvesant went up the river again, formally declared the village of Beverwyck to be outside of the patroon's jurisdiction, and established for it a court of justice in Fort Orange — the germ of the now existing municipal government of Albany. Van Slechtenhorst tore down the governor's proclamations. Stuyvesant again arrested him

and kept him at New Amsterdam, vainly begging for a trial, until Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer assumed the directorship of the colony.

In Holland the Company was carrying on the same dispute with the managers of the patroonship. Although it had denied Stuyvesant's assertion that it had authorized him to import arms for the Indians it now confessed to the fact, saying that it deemed it 'prudent' to make such sales 'now and then' — fearing, as has been explained, that altogether to deny the Mohawks what they coveted most would drive them into open enmity.

A number of colonists were brought out to Rensselaerswyck at this time by Johannes De Hulter who had an interest in the patroonship, his wife being the daughter of one of the early co-partners, the historian De Laet. On the other hand, some enterprising planters left the vicinity of Fort Orange and settled farther down the river on its western bank, in the hitherto unoccupied rich farming region, called 'the Esopus,' where Kingston is now the chief town.

From the first the States General had wished to better the condition of New Amsterdam, and the popular party throughout the fatherland had sympathized with its appeals. But its demand for 'suitable burgher government' was tangled up with others which did not seem as indisputably just; and its request that the government should abrogate its traditional colonial policy and assume the direct control of the province came at too critical a time to be seriously considered. The Republic was being rapidly forced into a war with England.

When Charles I of England was brought to the scaffold in 1649 his friends in Holland were the Orangists whose leader was his son-in-law, the stadholder William II. Before the affiliations and the ambitions of this young prince could affect the course of history he died, leaving only the posthumous son destined to become William III of England. The great partisan struggle that had seemed to come to an end

in 1619 with the expulsion of the Arminians from the established church and the execution of Barneveld had really, as Sir William Temple explained, lurked in the veins of the Republic. The 'only disease' that had afflicted the body politic of the United Netherlands since they had declared their independence, in 1650 it broke out afresh, the question of local rights as against a strong central government now undisguised by any screen of theological quibbles. This time the Orangist party, lacking a leader, fell into factions, the party of decentralization triumphed. As the province of Holland declared that the office of stadholder should stand vacant, the confederation lacked a visible head. Supreme power was nominally lodged in the hands of the States General while it actually fell into the hands of John De Witt who became in 1653 Grand Pensionary or chief magistrate of the province of Holland and for nineteen years thereafter was in fact if not in name prime minister of the Republic. This eclipse of the Orangist family and party was conspicuously marked by a change in the flag which floated over the Netherlands and their American province: its orange stripe gave way to the red stripe that the flag of the kingdom of Holland still displays.

At once the Dutch Republic had acknowledged the republican Commonwealth of England and tried to form an alliance with it but was offered terms which meant the sacrifice of its independence. Meanwhile Cromwell and the parliament found causes for deep resentment: Holland was sheltering the fugitive children of Charles I, and, owing to the influence of the Orangists, certain adherents of the Stuarts who in the streets of the Hague murdered the ambassador of the Commonwealth escaped all punishment. Moreover, Englishmen of all parties were growing more and more envious and afraid of the mercantile preëminence of Holland. The Dutch were then at the apogee of their prestige and their power. While the civil war in England and the Thirty Years' War on the continent had depleted the commercial strength of the nations engaged in them they had aug-

mented the resources of the Republic, driving within its borders thousands of desirable refugees. As a commercial nation Holland stood supreme. Between 1649 and 1655 was built at Amsterdam the imposing Stadt Huis which now serves as a royal palace; and not without justification did its builders choose for its crowning feature, for a symbol of the city's commerce, the figure of Atlas bearing the globe on his back. The Dutch now almost monopolized the whale fisheries of the Arctic Ocean, the herring fisheries of the North Sea, the grain trade of the Baltic, the spice trade with the Orient, and the carrying trade of the world — even the trade of the English with their own West Indian islands, the traffic across their Channel, and much of their local coasting trade.

As a direct blow at this proud supremacy and a step toward making England also a great 'staple' or 'mart of exchanges' the first of the famous English Navigation Acts was put forth by the Rump Parliament in October, 1651, when the Dutch had just obtained special and exclusive trading concessions from the king of Denmark. Following close upon ordinances that regulated in a protectionist spirit the trade of the English West Indies, it said that foreign wares should be procured for importation into England and its dominions only in their place of growth or manufacture or in the ports whence they were usually first shipped after transportation; it said that the products, raw or manufactured, of Asia, Africa, and America should be brought to England only in vessels of which the owners, the masters, and a major part of the mariners were English, those of Europe only in the same manner or in vessels belonging to the country of production or manufacture; and it altogether forbade the importation of fish by foreigners.

The Hollanders, who produced and manufactured little but fished more than any other people and carried the wares of the world, were so alarmed by this blow at their activities in home, in colonial, and in foreign waters that they proposed to England a treaty to maintain free trade to the West Indies and the North American continent and to

settle a 'just, certain, and immoveable boundary line' for the Dutch and English colonies. The English replied that free trade had never existed in the colonies of Holland, that the new trade laws could not be abrogated, that the whole of North America belonged by right to England, and that, as they knew of no plantations of Netherlanders there except a small number up Hudson's River, they did not think it necessary to settle the limits, a thing which might be done at a more convenient future time. So failed the first attempt made by the States General to secure fixed boundaries for New Netherland. England then proposed a general free-trade agreement for the two nations but to this the Republic would not accede.

Meanwhile the West India Company was spending most of its energies in the effort to get the subsidies so long overdue. In 1648 the provincial States tried to pay the arrears of which Holland had as yet paid only one-half, the other provinces one-third. In 1649 there was question of a war with Portugal which, however, was for some years delayed. The Company, it was plain, must somehow be assisted: formerly its shares had stood at 150, now they were valued at 40 or less. In 1651, when the new English laws promised to close to its ships the ports of all English colonies, it was granted a million guilders but in the old fashion that did not mean immediate payment or even certain future payment. It was not in a position to give New Netherland effectual aid in any way that would cost money, yet more and more insistently the claims of the province to aid of some sort were urged by Adriaen Van der Donck and, owing to his persistence, by the States General who now for the second time referred the Provisional Order of 1650 to all the chambers of the Company. All except the Amsterdam Chamber expressed their approval; and at last, fearing that it would be deprived of its authority over the province, early in 1652 this chamber unwillingly granted a few of the benefits outlined in the Order.

As the population of Manhattan was increasing it sent

out another minister to assist Megapolensis — Domine Samuel Drisius who had served a Dutch congregation in England and could preach in English, French, and Dutch, and who wanted to escape from the 'turbulent state' of Europe. It authorized the governor to appropriate annually 250 guilders as the salary of a master for the public school. It removed the export duty from tobacco. It promised to reduce the price of transatlantic passage. And it directed the governor to set up in New Amsterdam a suitable burgher government. Many other things which it wished to do, it explained, it dared not attempt for the seas were unsafe. Holland and England were at war.

Cromwell wanted no war with a Protestant power, and Holland knew that it had much to lose, little to gain, from any war. The great naval war which nevertheless began was the natural outcome of a long-existent, ever growing antagonism between the two nations, an antagonism that had a political element but was preponderantly commercial in character. It sprang not only from the feeling that England had expressed in the Navigation Act of 1651 but also from the renewal of old disputes about the fisheries and the dominion of the sea. These had been in abeyance during the English civil war but revived with the waxing power of the Commonwealth and were then accentuated by the insistence of the English upon the right to search neutral ships and their denial of the Dutch doctrine, set forth by Grotius early in the century, that a neutral flag protected all goods except contraband of war.

The first effect of the war upon New Netherland was to secure General Stuyvesant in the governor's chair. The States General had again summoned him home, to give an account of his administration of his province and his dealings with the New Englanders, and had intrusted the mandate to Adriaen Van der Donck who thought that at last he was to be permitted to return with his family to the country which to him was home. But, upon the urgent prayer of

the Company that its seasoned old soldier might be left to defend a province now in imminent danger of invasion, the States General rescinded their order, directing the Company to take all possible steps for the defence of New Netherland. Sending out some soldiers and some ammunition the Company ordered Stuyvesant not to embroil his colony with its stronger neighbors but to cultivate trade with them all and, now that tobacco was on the free list, especially with Virginia. Such efforts would be worth while, it said, because it felt sure that when 'the Manhattans' were well established and prosperous,

> . . . when the ships of New Netherland ride on every part of the ocean, then numbers now looking to that coast with eager eyes will be allured to embark for your island.

These directions, sent in the first instance by a ship that was captured by the English, did not reach New Amsterdam until the year was near its close. Then Stuyvesant proceeded to obey them in his own active but domineering fashion. Although some words that the directors wrote him imply that he had recently advised the erection of a municipal government in his little capital, he did all that he could to minimize its importance.

The directors themselves had given the much-desired permission in an ill-tempered way, 'to stop the general talk and gabble.' But they had said that the 'court of justice' of New Amsterdam should be formed as much as possible after the custom of the mother-city, that to further this end they were sending out printed copies of 'all the law courts here and their whole government,' and that it would suffice at first to 'choose' one *schout,* two burgomasters, and five *schepens* from whose judgments an appeal should lie to the 'supreme council' which should pronounce 'definite judgment.' Evidently they meant that the people should at the outset elect their magistrates and that these should afterwards fill, by the nomination of a double number, the

vacancies that would annually occur. Not so, said General Stuyvesant. He appointed the new officials himself, choosing some of them from the now-to-be-abolished Board of Nine Men.

The first burgomasters of New Amsterdam were Arendt Van Hattem and Martin Cregier. Its first *schepens* were Allard Anthony, Maximilian Van Gheel, Peter Van Couwenhoven a brother of the more conspicuous Jacob, Willem Beekman a native of the province of Overyssel who had been long in New Netherland, and Stuyvesant's quondam naval officer Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist who, as the *Remonstrance* of 1649 explains, was the only person in the province able to make Stuyvesant listen to what he wished to say. These were all good men and so was Jacob Kip whom Stuyvesant chose to serve as their secretary and to receive the revenues of the city. But with the office of city *schout*, the sheriff and public prosecutor whose duty was also to convoke and to preside over the meetings of the magistrates and formally to report upon them to the governor and council — with this important office Stuyvesant dealt in a way that the people deeply resented. He decided that the city should not have a *schout* of its own but should share with the provincial government the services of the *schout-fiscal* already in office; and this incumbent, promoted by himself in the stead of Van Dyck, was the 'public whoremonger and perjurer' Cornelis Van Tienhoven.

All the new officials were Netherlanders. The Company had written that they ought to be 'as much as possible of the Dutch nation,' believing that thus they would give 'most satisfaction' to the people at large. Never before had the owners or the local officials of New Netherland discriminated between men of different nationalities. But now that England and Holland were at war the Company doubted the loyalty of the English in its province despite Van Tienhoven's assurance that, as they had all taken the oath of fidelity, they were 'to be accounted fellow-citizens of the country.' It warned Stuyvesant to watch all Englishmen narrowly

and not to be deceived by a 'show of love,' as had been its own experience through their 'sinister machinations.' It directed him to enclose all letters from New Amsterdam in a bag addressed to the Company instead of confiding them as in the past to private hands; it said that it would send all letters in the same way; and it ordered him to open all addressed to Englishmen in his province as they might 'irritate' these persons against himself and thereby the Company might discover that it had 'fostered a serpent' in its bosom. The States General were less suspicious, merely commanding Stuyvesant to employ in the civil service or the militia only persons whose 'fidelity and affection' for the Republic could be fully counted upon. The opening of private letters of suspects by the hands of authority was a common practice at this time and, as the records of the English colonies show, was not always thought to need justification by the existence of war or of rumors of war.

On February 2, 1653, — Candlemas Day when the magistrates of Amsterdam were always installed, — the first magistrates of New Amsterdam received their commissions and were sworn in, and the little town on Manhattan took rank as a full-fledged city. Thus the greatest of American cities is also the oldest. It had no rival in the English colonies. Some years before its birth, indeed, Sir Ferdinando Gorges had organized municipal governments for Agamenticus and Kittery in the district of Maine, renaming Agamenticus Gorgeana; but when Massachusetts brought Maine under its jurisdiction in 1652 these cities became mere towns again and Gorgeana was again rechristened, York. On the other hand the government is still alive which was established in 1653 for the city that was to become New York. More than once it has been modified in form, and during the Revolution its functions were suspended; but at no time has it been dissolved. The court composed by its members is now extinct but survived for nearly two centuries and a half. Called at first the Court of the Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens of New Amsterdam, after the English occupation

it was known as the Mayor's Court of the City of New York, and after the city was formally incorporated by Governor Dongan in 1686 as the Mayor's Court or the Court of Common Pleas. As the Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of New York (its criminal part known as the Court of Sessions, and the name Mayor's Court obliterated in 1821) it continued to exist until, merged in the Supreme Court by the State constitution adopted in 1894, it expired with the year 1895. It was then the oldest judicial tribunal in the State of New York, the oldest with an unbroken record in the United States.

The City Inn which Governor Kieft had built was turned into a Stadt Huis or City Hall for the use of the new magistrates. In front of it a platform was erected where, when the bell had been tolled three times to bring the people together, new laws, ordinances, and proclamations were read aloud before they were affixed to the wall of the building so that all might read them. This practice continued during colonial years.

The municipal court, which had jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, held its sessions every Monday morning at nine o'clock, opening them with a solemn form of prayer specially composed for the purpose and inscribed in the first volume of the court records. The limits of New Amsterdam were now more strictly defined than in earlier days, embracing only the city proper which appears to have meant from the first what it meant until English times — the part of Manhattan below the line of the fence that Kieft had built across the island to protect the people's live stock during the Indian war. Within these limits the magistrates held the primary authority with legislative and executive as well as judicial powers, regulating municipal affairs after the manner of a modern board of aldermen. Not at once, however, not until after several years of opposition from Governor Stuyvesant, did they gain these powers in a degree that satisfied the people. Moreover, Stuyvesant insisted that he had a right to preside at their meetings, and that

in spite of their existence he and his council could make, even for the city, whatsoever laws they chose.

The people greatly respected their magistrates and called them by sonorous titles. At church they occupied pews set apart for their use and sat upon cushions of state which were ceremoniously carried before them as they came and went through the streets.

What the city had gained by the creation of this municipal board it owed chiefly to Adriaen Van der Donck. For nearly three years he had stood homesick and alone, distressed by his detention in Holland while his patroonship in America was running down the road to ruin, yet loyally trying to win justice and liberty for his fellow-colonials. Even when their new magistrates were installed he was not at hand to receive their thanks. The enmity of the West India Company detained him in Holland for many months after he sent his family back to New Netherland. When at last he was permitted to depart, in the autumn of 1653, the Company made him promise not to meddle again in public affairs. It denied his request that he might practise law at New Amsterdam otherwise than by 'giving advice' because, it said, there were probably no other lawyers there who could plead against him. And it warned Stuyvesant that although he might be a less dangerous person than he seemed it would be well to keep an eye upon him.

The men on Manhattan who strove to uphold the hands of this tribune of the people had suffered almost as much as he. Any one of them might have secured personal peace and advancement by currying favor with Peter Stuyvesant. But the records show only one who had embraced the people's cause thus falling away from it. This was the Dane, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who joined at first in Cornelis Melyn's appeal in Holland but soon returned to Manhattan and began again to cultivate his bowerie on the Muscoota Flats with money obtained from three persons to whom in September, 1651, he ceded an undivided three-fourths share in the property. One of these persons was Governor Stuyvesant,

another was the governor of Curaçoa who, as he also signed the contract, must have been at this time in New Amsterdam.

When the city magistrates began their sessions the danger of war was, of course, the pressing concern. To the governors of the English colonies Stuyvesant wrote amicable letters informing them that their people might continue unmolested to trade at Manhattan. In concert with the magistrates he proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer, ordered that all the inhabitants without exception should work on the fortifications, and at last mustered and drilled the burgher guard and detailed its members for constant guard-duty. It included one hundred and fourteen men divided into four squads commanded by the captain and the lieutenant — who were a burgomaster and a *schepen* of the city, Arendt Van Hattem and Paulus Van der Grist, — an ensign and the senior sergeant. The fort, it was ordered, should be repaired. As it was impossible to protect the settlements where people lived at a distance from each other, it was decided 'to concentrate the forces of New Netherland for the better protection of the place'; and as Fort Amsterdam could not hold all the inhabitants or defend all the houses in the city,

> . . . to surround the greater part of the City with a high stockade and a small breastwork to draw in time of need all inhabitants behind it and defend as much as possible their persons and goods against attack.

This was the wall that gave its name to Wall Street. About 180 rods in length, it ran for a short distance along the East River shore and crossed the island above the end of the ditch or canal, following the line of Kieft's fence a little to the north of the present line of Wall Street and cutting through the southern part of the old Damen Farm. The North River shore it left to the protection of a natural bluff which was levelled in much later times. The committee appointed to supervise the works of defence, La Montagne

of the council and the *schepens* William Beekman and Paulus Van der Grist, decided that the wall should be built of palisades twelve feet high, sharpened at the upper end, supported by posts, one to each rod of length, and reënforced on the inner side by a sloping breastwork of earth four feet high, behind which again should run a ditch. From these specifications and a little explanatory sketch that accompanied them have usually been compiled the descriptions and the pictures of the wall in its original estate. But the city records go on to say that the committee soon reported that, having asked for proposals for constructing the wall in this manner and finding nobody willing to do it except at a great price, they had therefore decided to 'set off' the wall with planks laid longitudinally and supported by three hundred or more oaken posts, the planks to be fifteen feet long and three or four inches thick and nine of them to form the height of the wall. A notice asking for proposals to furnish the lumber, to be paid for in 'good wampum,' was then 'publicly cried out through the city'; and the contract was taken by Thomas Baxter, an Englishman who had been living on Manhattan since the time of Governor Kieft. The wall was soon defended at its East River end, now the corner of Wall and Pearl streets, by a blockhouse with a gate called the *Water Poort*, and at the intersection of the path which is now Broadway by another called the *Landt Poort*.

While the building of the wall was under discussion, in March, the magistrates asked the government whether it was not advisable to despatch, in addition to the letters already sent, some delegates to the New England colonies whose commissioners were to meet on April 1, to learn how they were affected by the war in Europe and to offer 'good and binding conditions' for the continuance of 'former intercourse and commerce.' To this suggestion the governor and council agreed, saying that when they had drawn up proper credentials and instructions they would so notify the magistrates; and a few days later the magistrates elected two of their own number as 'delegates to New England.'

It does not appear that the proposed mission was actually sent; but the incident is interesting as showing how prominent a part the city magistrates were at the very outset permitted to play even in those intercolonial affairs with which, according to modern ideas, a municipality could have no concern.

At once the city incurred its first public debt. As there was no money to meet the cost of the wall the richest citizens, forty-three in number, lent the new corporation at ten per cent interest 5050 guilders in sums varying from 50 to 200 guilders. The list of them — the earliest extant list of residents of New Amsterdam — begins with the Honorable Cornelis Van Werckhoven who had recently brought out a number of settlers, obtained the rights of a patroon, and established colonies at Tappaen and at Navesink behind Sandy Hook, and whom Stuyvesant had placed at his council board. Another newcomer, also of good birth and worldly substance, who figured on the list was Johannes De Paistre or De Peyster. A native of Haerlem of French or Flemish descent, who had come to New Amsterdam in 1645, he founded a family which has always been prominent and influential in New York. Among the other names are those of all the city magistrates, of Jacobus Van Couwenhoven, Hendrick Kip, Govert Lockermans, and Oloff Stevensen, of Jacob Steendam, remembered for his poems in praise of New Netherland, and of the eldest son of Manhattan, Jan Vinje.

The Company had instructed Stuyvesant to try again to form a league with his English neighbors so that the 'mischief-making barbarians' might be held in check, but not to give them a preponderance in any general council as that would be dangerous. It was not a time, however, when any one on the spot could think of such a pact. Fear of actual invasion by its much stronger rivals was growing so keen on Manhattan that many persons, it was rumored, thought of returning to Holland. The Hartford Treaty had

not satisfied the New Englanders while the success of the Commonwealth party had brought them into more friendly relations with their mother-country, now at war with Holland, and had freed them from all dread of interference with their own policies or conduct. For a time they seemed to respect the treaty, telling the Canadians, for example, when they asked aid against the Mohawks that 'Aurania' (Fort Orange) was 'in the Dutch jurisdiction.' But while all that the Dutch governor wanted and asked for, as Endicott wrote to Winthrop in 1652 when he had just had a letter from Stuyvesant, was a 'continuance of peace and trade,' the main result of his persistent efforts to placate his neighbors was to convince them that he himself, the West India Company, and the States General were all alike doubtful of their strength. So by the year 1653 the New Englanders were saying that the Dutch called their territories New Netherland although they were 'within that part or tract of America called New England'; they were loudly complaining of Stuyvesant's attitude on the Delaware; and they were ready to believe the assertion of Connecticut that Stuyvesant and Van Tienhoven were exciting the eastern Indians 'to kill all the English.'

Meeting at Boston in April, 1653, to consider this last charge the commissioners of the United Colonies were told of 'probable rumors' that the Dutch had urged the savages to cut them off then and there by poisoning the waters and burning the buildings of the town. Writing to the governors of New Haven and Massachusetts Stuyvesant solemnly asserted his innocence of all inimical schemes, and suggested that he should come to Boston to prove it or that a committee of investigation should be sent to Manhattan. John Underhill, who was now sheriff at Flushing, wrote to John Winthrop that he believed the Connecticut story and to the federal commissioners that he could produce evidence to support it. The sachems of the Narragansett tribes, to whom the commissioners put eleven specific questions, denied all knowledge of it, demanding the names of their accusers; and the chief among them, Ninigret, sachem of

the Niantics, said that they were loth to 'invent any falsehood' of the Dutch governor to please the English though these were their nearer neighbors. Stuyvesant, he said, had never proposed 'any such things' and the Indians had never heard of any plot. He himself had, indeed, gone to Manhattan with a letter from Winthrop to be treated by a French physician and had spent the winter there but instead of being cajoled had been most unkindly ignored by the governor.

In May the commissioners sent the committee for which Stuyvesant had asked, a committee of three members one of whom was Captain John Leverett, in later years governor of Massachusetts. Stuyvesant, they said, ought to go to New England to defend himself. His people, forgetting their own grievances, stood loyally by him; and with some of the chief among them, including Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, he asked in writing for a full inquiry to be conducted at New Amsterdam in presence of the envoys, of himself and his council, and of three New Netherlanders versed in the English and Indian tongues — Dr. La Montagne, David Provoost, and Govert Lockermans. The envoys refused, saying that two of the indicated persons were not qualified to serve in such a way. Lockermans and Provoost they meant, for Provoost had been in command at Fort Good Hope while the contentions with the Hartford people were hot, both he and Lockermans had afterwards been accused of selling firearms to the New England Indians, and for this offence Lockermans had been convicted and punished at New Haven. These facts, however, were used as an excuse for avoiding a formal inquiry of any sort. The envoys went to Long Island, to Underhill's house, and collected such testimony as they could get from the English who were now developing into Stuyvesant's most active enemies. They secured no valid evidence to support the charge brought by Connecticut. It seems to have been based wholly on gossip and the statements of a few ill-intentioned savages, chief among them the notorious Uncas, always a bitter foe

of the Narragansetts and an unscrupulous ally of the New Englanders. Such charges were not infrequently brought and believed in colonial times. On the Delaware River, for example, an Englishman had recently been accused of conspiring with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch but exonerated after an inquiry conducted by Englishmen, Swedes, and Dutchmen. Nothing that now exists on paper gives the story about Stuyvesant a color of truth. The only words that can be twisted toward its support are some in a letter from the West India Company telling Stuyvesant to secure the help of the natives if New England should take part in the 'broils' of the time and injure his 'good inhabitants,' and his own open assertion that he was preparing to strengthen himself with Indian alliances if the English should come against him; and these words expressed no more than a policy which was always pursued not only by the French in America but also by the English even as late as the time of the War of 1812. In fact, Peter Stuyvesant showed at his best in this episode, when he had a real danger to meet, real enemies to deal with, and the New Englanders showed at their worst.

Before the envoys left Long Island Stuyvesant again asserted his innocence in a letter that Augustine Herrman carried to Boston. The Dutch, he confessed, were not guiltless of selling arms to the savages, but the English also supplied them 'at second and third hand.' This was eminently true. In its early days Massachusetts permitted the arming of Indians employed by the whites. The laws against the traffic which it afterwards enacted were relaxed in 1642 and renewed only in times of special danger. Connecticut and New Haven, being in greater peril, tried to be stricter but were as impotent to prevent transgressions as was the government of New Netherland, as has been the government of the United States in modern times. In 1649 the federal commissioners, when declaring the guilt of the Dutch, confessed that 'some English are conceived to be deeply guilty.' Roger Williams, writing to the general

court of Massachusetts in 1655, said that the Indians got ammunition 'openly and horridly' from the Dutch and 'from all the English over the country by stealth.' To lamentations upon the same theme Governor Bradford devoted a section of his versified account of New England saying, in part, that he knew the nefarious traffic was

> . . . laid upon the French and Dutch,
> And freely grant that they do use it much,
> And make thereof an execrable trade
> Whereby these natives one another invade;
> By which also the Dutch and French do smart
> Sometimes, for teaching them this wicked art;
> But these both from us more remote do lie,
> And ours from them can have no full supply.
> In these quarters it is English guns we see,
> For French and Dutch more slight and weak they be:
> . . . . . .
> Fair fowling pieces and muskets they have,
> All English, and keep them both neat and brave;
> . . . . . .
> And of the English so many are guilty
> And deal underhand in such secrecy,
> As very rare it is some one to catch,
> Though you use all due means them for to watch.

John Underhill was active at this time in working against the government to which he had sworn allegiance, and openly accused Secretary Van Tienhoven in especial of plotting with the Indians. Stuyvesant arrested and imprisoned him but dismissed him without a trial, presumably because he did not dare to provoke the English within or beyond the borders of his province. Underhill then hoisted the flag of the parliament of England at Hempstead and at Flushing and addressed to the commonalty of New Amsterdam a pompous letter explaining that their rulers were too 'iniquitous' to be tolerated any longer by any 'brave Englishman and good Christian,' and declaring that the Dutch had no title to their province as they held no patent from King James 'the rightful grantor thereof.' The Englishmen at Hempstead and

at Newtown begged the commissioners of the United Colonies to protect them, and Underhill, ordered to leave New Netherland, offered to assist the commissioners in coercing the Dutch. Spurned in this quarter, in June he induced Providence Plantations to undertake a campaign to relieve the English Long Islanders from the 'cruel tyranny of the Dutch power at the Manhathes' and to bring their Dutch neighbors 'to conformity to the Commonwealth of England.' A commission issued to Underhill and William Dyer empowered them to go against the Dutch or any enemies of the crown of England. Underhill, accordingly, sailed up the Connecticut River, seized the little old fort at Hartford which by this time the Dutch garrison had vacated, and sold it twice over, giving his personal deed. The Connecticut authorities, resenting his intrusion, locked him up for a while. At a later time he asserted in a letter to Winthrop that he had been imprisoned simply because he would not suffer his men to despoil the 'well-affected' Dutch farmers of the neighborhood, and had sold the fort to avoid further trouble. One useful thing, however, he had accomplished before leaving New Netherland. Acting probably by virtue of his Rhode Island commission he led an attack upon one of the strongholds of the Long Island Indians, who had grown very troublesome, and effectually chastised them. This so-called battle at Fort Neck was the last fought between white men and red men on Long Island.

Another adventurer with a Rhode Island commission turned pirate and preyed impartially upon the vessels of New Netherland and New England. This was the Thomas Baxter (not to be confounded with his namesake George) who had recently supplied New Amsterdam with the lumber for its transinsular wall.

Meanwhile New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth were longing to attack the Dutch province in proper form. The Commonwealth of England had not actually authorized such a move but had instructed the New Englanders to treat the Hollanders as their enemies and had issued letters-of-marque

for some of their ships. In May, while the investigation of the alleged Dutch and Indian plot was under way, the federal commissioners considered how many soldiers they would need if 'God should call the colonies to make war against the Dutch.' Five hundred, they decided, would suffice; and to command them they appointed Captain John Leverett because he was just then serving on the committee that had been sent to New Amsterdam and therefore was enjoying a chance 'to observe the situation and fortifications at the Monhatoes' — a singularly frank expression of a singular view of the duties and obligations of an accredited envoy.

Massachusetts blocked these plans for war. One of its representatives on the federal board of commissioners, Simon Bradstreet who had been one of the 'umpires' that drew up the Hartford Treaty, dissented from the corporate decision, and the general court of the colony refused to abide by it although the articles of union prescribed that the votes of any six of the eight commissioners should be binding upon all. While the 'proofs and presumptions' alleged, said the general court, were of much weight in inducing it to believe in the 'reality of the plot of the Dutch and Indians' yet they were not 'so fully conclusive' as to justify the drawing of the sword now that the plot had been discovered and the peril probably averted. This occurrence holds a prominent place in the annals of New England, for the independent action of the strongest of the allied colonies put so hard a strain on the bond between them that it was barely saved from rupture.

Connecticut and New Haven hoped that they might proceed without Massachusetts but, as the records of New Haven say, instructed their commissioners to deal warily lest they bring into nearer connection 'Rhode Island or any of that stamp or frame.' Without the concurrence of Rhode Island or of Massachusetts they appealed for aid to the Council of State in England. In support of this request the Reverend William Hooke of New Haven, Cromwell's cousin and in after years his chaplain, wrote him a letter which gave a reason for the reluctance of Massachusetts:

The truth is the decliners fear their own swords more than Dutch or natives or the displeasure of the Commonwealth of England, conceiving that if the sword be once drawn it will bear rule no less in our England than in yours.

Describing the New Netherlanders as 'an earthly generation of men whose gain is their God,' Hooke also explained to Cromwell that the 'intestine discontents' then so hot among the New Englanders had arisen chiefly from their 'not enterprising against these earthly-minded men.' Trade, said the spiritually-minded minister, was obstructed in New England, all commodities were scarce, 'mutiny and sedition' were raising their heads against the theocratic governments, and,

. . . it is strongly apprehended . . . that our case is desperate if the Dutch be not removed, who lie close upon our borders westward, as the French do on the east, interdicting the enlargement of our borders any farther that way, so that we and our posterity, now almost prepared to swarm forth plenteously, are confined and straightened, the sea lying before us and a rocky rude desert unfit for culture and destitute of commodity behind our backs, all convenient places for accommodation on the sea-coast already possessed and planted.

Although Massachusetts would not fight it forbade the selling of provisions to Frenchmen or Dutchmen. Even the smallest of the other colonies contained as many people as New Netherland, Connecticut a much larger number, but none ventured to move upon it. All thought best to delay until Oliver Cromwell should send assistance.

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CHAPTER XI

DISPUTES, COMPLAINTS, AND DANGERS

1653–1656

(Governor Stuyvesant)

We humbly conceive that our rights and privileges are the same, harmonizing in every respect with those of the Netherlands, being a member dependent on that State and in no wise a people conquered or subjugated, but settled here on a mutual covenant and contract entered into with the Lords Masters and with the consent of the natives, the first proprietors of these lands, from whom we purchased the soil with our own funds. — *Remonstrance and Petition to the Director-General and Council of New Netherland. 1653.*

Although Stuyvesant's people supported him loyally when New England accused him they did not long forget their old grievances. Van Dyck sent home a voluminous defence of his own conduct which was in fact another review of the whole colonial situation. The city magistrates declared that the people should not be more heavily burdened to pay for the new fortifications: the Company ought to bear the cost of defending those whom it kept 'altogether in the background' in public affairs. And, as the provincial revenue did not suffice to meet even the regular expenses of the government, once more Stuyvesant was compelled to let the people come into the foreground.

In August, 1653, the magistrates summoned some of 'the principal burghers and inhabitants' to meet with them in the Stadt Huis. They would do nothing, they decided, toward raising the 7000 guilders required for the works of defence unless the governor would surrender to the city the

proceeds of the excise on wine and beer. The governor said he could not think of such a thing, the burghers refused to think of raising money, and the magistrates, declaring their 'lack of power,' protested that the blame would not be theirs should any mishap occur. In September delegates from the neighboring 'courts' and 'colonies' met with the governor and council and enacted ordinances to regulate trade, to reduce the excessive cost of provisions, and, as had more than once been done in New England, to cut down the current rates of wages. It is not known who appeared at this meeting, the first in New Netherland that could be called a legislative assemblage. In November, some of the principal burghers and inhabitants being again 'legally' summoned by the magistrates and twenty-three of them appearing, they were informed that the governor had agreed to give up the excise but that little ready money would thereby be provided and other means to get it must be found. Asked whether they would abide by the action of their magistrates they unanimously pledged themselves in writing to obey them in all things 'as good subjects are bound to do.' At the same time a petition from the citizens was laid before the magistrates urging them to demand a *schout* of their own. A week later the magistrates, saying that they had had no confirmation of Stuyvesant's promise, which was verbal only, resolved to wait upon him to demand a 'proper grant' and, should they not obtain it, to tender their resignations. Then the governor said that they might have part of the excise money if they would support 'the two preachers, the schoolmasters, and secretary.' This, said the magistrates, could hardly be done with the moneys offered. As they had threatened, they unanimously requested their dismissal, saying it was impossible for them 'to continue thus any longer,' but decided not to abandon their offices when Stuyvesant declared that he had no power to dismiss them. Finally he had to consent to surrender the whole excise, stipulating that the magistrates should farm it out after the manner practised in Holland, and should 'supply subsidies for the maintenance

of the works of this City and its ecclesiastical and civil servants.'

The southern shores of New England were suffering almost as much as Long Island from the Rhode Island marauders with Thomas Baxter at their head, yet the New Englanders forbade the New Netherlanders, who had armed two vessels to pursue the pirates, to follow them into any New England harbor without a special permit in each case. Stuyvesant sent one of the *schepens* of New Amsterdam to ask for help in Holland; and at the request of Gravesend, Flushing, and Middleburg he summoned a convention to consider measures for putting an end to Thomas Baxter's raids and otherwise insuring the public safety. Accordingly on November 26, the day after the governor had made terms with the citizens about the excise, there gathered in the Stadt Huis two members of the council, two of the city magistrates, and two delegates from each of the three Long Island towns, George Baxter and James Hubbard representing Gravesend. At once the English delegates, led by Baxter, declared that the governor's councillors had no right to be present. The Dutchmen agreed with them, and the councillors retired. Then the Englishmen declared that they would pay no taxes if they got no protection, and would form a union among themselves if New Amsterdam would not join with them. New Amsterdam declined to join until the other Dutch settlements should be heard from.

This defection of his old supporters, the English settlers, seems to have daunted Stuyvesant for a moment. Only such places, he said, as had local courts of justice were entitled to speak about public matters, but he would incorporate some of the Dutch villages so that the Hollanders might have equal votes with the Englishmen. Without waiting for this the convention proposed that a memorial be sent to Holland. It might be done, the governor declared, if the delegates would meet under the eye of two of his councillors and would draw up a truthful statement. The action of the Englishmen in excluding the councillors, he said, smelt of rebellion, and how,

he asked, could he protect them from roving marauders, who included land-pirates or outlaws from New England as well as seafaring robbers, when they had scattered themselves far and wide contrary to reiterated orders that they should live in compact villages and, moreover, often gave friendly shelter to the very offenders of whom they so loudly complained?

On November 29 the delegates informed him that they had adjourned until December 10 and asked permission to call others from the Dutch settlements. Those far up the North River could not be reached because of the lateness of the season, yet the convention which in December gathered in the Stadt Huis to represent 'the state of the country' to its rulers could rightly be esteemed a little *land-dag* or provincial diet. No member of the governor's council appeared at it. It was composed of ten Dutchmen and nine Englishmen representing four Dutch towns, New Amsterdam, Breuckelen, Amersfoort (Flatlands), and Midwout (Flatbush), and four English towns, Flushing, Newtown (Middleburg), Gravesend, and Hempstead. The delegates of New Amsterdam were its burgomasters, Cregier and Van Hattem, and three of its *schepens*.

The *Remonstrance and Petition of the Colonies and Villages in this New Netherland Province* which the *land-dag* at once drew up and presented to the governor and council was written by George Baxter but in substance and form was as thoroughly Dutch as the antecedent petitions of the Twelve Men, the Eight, and the Nine. On behalf of the people of 'various nations from different parts of the world,' who at their 'own expense' had left their native shores and put themselves 'voluntarily' under the protection of the States General in America, it expressed the utmost loyalty to the government and the laws of the United Netherlands. Summarizing once more the people's grievances it said that the Indians were restless and dangerous largely because they had not been rightly compensated for their lands; the land patents given by Stuyvesant were of doubtful validity because he had acted

with an insufficient council and had often granted too much to a single individual; the people were oppressed by old autocratic ordinances which they did not understand; officials were appointed without the 'consent or nomination' of the people; and all these grievances formed a solid basis for the main one, which was thus defined:

> Our apprehension of the establishment of an arbitrary government among us:
>
> It is contrary to the first intentions and genuine principles of every well-regulated government that one or more men should arrogate to themselves the exclusive power to dispose at will of the life and property of any individual, and this by virtue or under pretense of a law or order which he or they might enact without the consent, knowledge, or election of the whole Body or its agents or representatives. Hence the enactment, except as aforesaid, of new laws or orders affecting the Commonalty or the Inhabitants, their lives or property, is contrary and opposed to the granted Freedoms of the Netherland Government, and is odious to every free-born man. . . .

This, in effect, was a denial of the right of the West India Company to govern the province. It was followed by the first expression framed on Manhattan of the truth that New World were different from Old World communities and might not be adequately served by Old World laws. The denial of the right of self-government, the *Remonstrance* said, was particularly odious

> . . . to those whom God has placed in a free state on newly settled lands which might require new laws and orders not transcending but resembling as near as possible those of Netherland. We humbly submit that it is one of our privileges that our consent or that of our representatives is necessarily required in the enactment of such laws and orders.

Joined to the paragraph which is quoted at the head of this chapter, these words written in the New Amsterdam of 1653 form a declaration of rights which would have met with approval in the New York of Stamp Act or of Revolutionary days. The *Remonstrance* that contained them was laid before the governor and council as representing the Company

which in its turn was declared to be merely the holder of powers delegated by the States General, the true rulers of all Hollanders 'within the United Provinces and in the foreign settlements thereunto belonging.' The governor was asked to give a 'categorical answer' to each of the six grievances it named. This was too much to demand of Peter Stuyvesant. He pronounced the little congress illegal as containing delegates from unincorporated settlements, and called its petition 'a private and obscurely-styled remonstrance' of a few 'unqualified delegates' from communities some of which had 'no court or jurisdiction.' He taunted his people unfairly with following the lead of 'an Englishman,' meaning George Baxter. In answer to the charge that he had prevented them from choosing their own city magistrates he said that those he selected were presented to the people in front of the Stadt Huis and the question was put whether any one objected to them. And he set forth his ideas about popular government in a way that would have pleased the Long Island Englishmen much better in 1651 than it did in 1653. If popular government were granted, he declared,

> . . . if it is to be made a rule that the selection and nomination shall be left to the people generally, whom it most concerns, then everyone would want for a magistrate a man of his own stamp; for instance, a thief would choose for magistrate a thief, and a dishonest man, a drunkard, a smuggler etc. their likes, in order to commit felonies and frauds with so much more freedom.

The convention said that its meeting was legal because the 'law of Nature' authorized all men to associate together in defence of their liberty and property — a form of argument which an Englishman of that time could hardly have phrased, which was not current even among Frenchmen until nearly a century later; and once more it asked for an answer to its petition. Saying once more that only magistrates might assemble to deal with public affairs, the governor ordered the delegates to disperse and not to meet again under penalty of 'arbitrary correction.'

All of them had signed the *Remonstrance*. Now four of them — Burgomaster Cregier, Paulus Van der Grist a *schepen* of the city, Lubbertsen of Amersfoort, and Baxter of Gravesend — signed a series of *Short Notes* explaining the *Remonstrance* and laying special stress upon Stuyvesant's arbitrary method of ruling without even the advice of his council, and also a letter to the burgomasters of the 'praiseworthy and renowned' mother-city of Amsterdam. In this they explained that the governor had rejected the *Remonstrance* and described the 'great and alarming' danger in which the province now stood,

> . . . bitter foes without and suspected neighbors round about, within discontented citizens and a government by no means as ample as the present conjuncture of affairs particularly demands.

Furthermore the city magistrates drew up on their own behalf a petition to the Amsterdam Chamber declaring that as the powers conceded to them by the director-general were 'too contracted, too curtailed, and too limited' they were unable properly to govern the body of the burghers, and asking for

> . . . an Instruction not so extremely limited but as far as possible in accordance with the form of government of the renowned City of Amsterdam — she who gave the name to this our New Amsterdam.

More specifically they asked for certain powers in taxation and legislation, for a properly inducted city *schout*, for a city seal different from that of the province, for the Stadt Huis as their own property to be granted by the Company by gift or by sale, for the privilege of farming out the ferry to Breuckelen, and for the whole of the excise moneys without the need to pay civil and ecclesiastical salaries only one-third of which these moneys would cover. They also asked for a supply of munitions of war including muskets with barrels three and a half feet long as such weapons would not be sold to the Indians who preferred shorter barrels. With the other peti-

tions this one was intrusted to a qualified messenger to be duly laid before the authorities in Holland.

Meanwhile the Englishmen of Gravesend wrote to the Amsterdam Chamber, declaring their loyalty to the Company and their friendship for the governor but complaining of many things. One of these was Stuyvesant's failure to keep his solemn promise to enlarge their lands. Another was 'the refusal of the enjoyed freedoms (we mean Dutch freedoms) for which we came' — a grievance that contrasts rather curiously with the sentiments that the same writers had expressed a few years before.

Before the end of the year 1653 the West India Company sent out at his own request Nicasius De Sille, an 'expert and able statesman,' to be Stuyvesant's 'first councillor,' and Cornelis Van Ruyven to be secretary of the province. As De Sille's name is unusual it may be assumed that he was of the immediate family of an earlier Nicasius De Sille, the distinguished publicist and diplomat who is believed to have drawn up the articles of union, adopted at Utrecht in 1579, which made of the seven Dutch provinces a nation.

At the opening of the year 1654 the city magistrates asked that they might receive pay for their services and nominate their successors. 'For the sake of peace and harmony' Stuyvesant granted them modest salaries, continued them in office, and gave them the right to impose a 'small or burghers' excise' — a tax, distinct from the tapsters' excise, upon liquors bought at wholesale for private consumption which became the city's chief source of income. Like all other indirect taxes it was farmed out to the highest bidder. Sharply Stuyvesant reproved the magistrates when he heard a report that they meant to exclude from the bidding all employees of the West India Company.

During the spring Governor Stuyvesant, mindful of his promise to incorporate Dutch villages, increased at Breuckelen the number of magistrates named in Kieft's charter and erected for this town, Midwout, and Amersfoort a superior district court which had charge of highway, school, church,

and other local affairs. In the previous year he had given a charter to Middleburg (Newtown), the English settlement planted in Kieft's time by the Reverend Francis Doughty. Here the pastor was now John Moore, a Presbyterian, best remembered as the ancestor of two bishops of the Episcopal Church and two presidents of Columbia College.

On Long Island and along the neighboring coasts the pirates who called themselves privateers continued their maraudings. Again Stuyvesant tried to suppress them, sending envoys to New England to explain that his armed vessels had no designs upon any one else. A greater danger threatened his province from across the sea.

When Connecticut and New Haven asked Cromwell to aid them in attacking New Netherland their story of Stuyvesant's plot with the Indians was believed in the mother-country and supported by a widely circulated pamphlet called *The Second Part of the Amboyna Tragedy, or True Account of a Bloody, Treacherous, and Cruel Plot of the Dutch in America.* Referring to the fact that in 1623 at Amboyna in the Spice Islands the Dutch had tortured into confession and then executed ten Englishmen and ten Javanese whom they accused of plotting to murder them, it said that their 'treacherous cruelty,' spreading from the East to the West Indies and thence to New Netherland, had resulted in a conspiracy to assassinate the New Englanders when gathered in their churches on a Sunday. Of course it brought forth in Holland passionate rejoinders. To affirm such things of Stuyvesant and his people on the strength of an occurrence so remote in time and in place, said the West India Company, was an 'infamous lying libel' which would 'startle the devil in hell.' Scorning to answer the pamphlet the Company simply translated and printed it and scattered it broadcast to show, as it wrote to Stuyvesant when it sent him a manuscript copy, what 'stratagems' the English were willing to employ to irritate 'the whole world against the Dutch.' It was well understood in Holland that the extreme and lasting irritation of the English

over the Amboyna affair, fed and fostered during many later years by their poets and dramatists as well as their politicians, bore witness to the fact that it resulted in their exclusion from the Spice Islands — that group of six islands just under the equator where, and where only, the nutmegs and mace, the allspice and cloves that Europe so greatly coveted could be obtained.

Whether or no Oliver Cromwell believed the slanderous tales about Stuyvesant he despatched to New England four ships with two hundred soldiers, commissioned two Massachusetts men, Major Robert Sedgwick and Captain John Leverett, to command an expedition against New Netherland, and instructed them to ask the aid of the United Colonies in this 'undertaking for vindicating the English right and extirpating the Dutch.' No cruelty, he said, should be used toward the people of 'the Manhattoes'; they should be urged to remain in their homes or permitted peacefully to return to their fatherland. They were so few in number, he added, that the New Englanders ought to have expected a 'comfortable success' even if they had ventured to deal with them unassisted.

Connecticut, condemning John Underhill's seizure of Fort Good Hope but, on the other hand, ignoring the Hartford Treaty of 1650, now sequestered the fort and its lands. The Dutch never tried to regain them. In the early years of the nineteenth century remains of the fort still existed within the city of Hartford, but the river gradually wore away its site and the only vestige of the little Dutch stronghold that now survives is a single yellow brick preserved in the rooms of the Connecticut Historical Society.

On and near Manhattan apprehension deepened. The city magistrates ordered a levy of sixty men, and the neighboring Dutch towns detailed one-third of their inhabitants as minutemen and promised a general levy in case of need. In May Isaac Allerton, who had removed to New Haven some years before, sent word to Stuyvesant that Cromwell's ships were coming.

New Amsterdam had no gunners, no musketeers, no sailors, and only sixteen hundred pounds of powder, and its 'navigation,' said the governor, was entirely 'shut off.' Although it had sent out three or four expeditions to drive the pirates from Long Island the Dutchmen there, he knew, would not desert their own homes to come to its aid and, he feared, might not even defend their homes, hoping for security should they not oppose the invaders. Determined nevertheless to put his defences in good condition he declared that soldiers and laborers must be got by promises of pay. The Company had said that volunteers should not be raised in its province by any such pledges given in its name; but the city magistrates consented to borrow the money, promising to repay it by taxing real estate and cattle and laying an impost of one-tenth upon all merchandise exported during the coming year; and to this plan the merchants agreed, with the stipulation that the Company must eventually refund the sums thus gathered.

As for the English of Long Island, they had sworn allegiance but would surely join the enemy; to ask them into the city, Stuyvesant wrote, would simply be 'to drag the Trojan horse within our walls.' In fact, they were growing openly mutinous. Middleburg proposed that it should begin the war. Gravesend, still inspired by George Baxter and James Hubbard, now ignored Governor Stuyvesant, chose magistrates without deferring to his confirmatory powers, issued letters-of-marque to would-be privateers, and entered into correspondence with the military leaders at Boston. Some of the Englishmen in New Amsterdam itself were writing secretly to Boston, others were preparing to leave the city.

Early in June the four ships that Cromwell had sent lay in Boston harbor, and the New Englanders bestirred themselves to increase and to provision the force they carried. The government of Massachusetts would raise no men but permitted Sedgwick and Leverett to recruit volunteers within its borders. They enlisted three hundred, Connecticut sent two hundred, and New Haven more than a hundred. Plymouth had recently stated its belief that the savages had drunk deep of 'an

intoxicating cup at or from the Monhatoes' and had thereby been excited against the English who had 'sought their good both in bodily and spiritual respects'; but now it declared that it 'only joined' in the design 'against the Monhatoes in reference to the national quarrel.' Its governor at this time was the same William Bradford who had assured Governor Minuit of the gratitude of the Pilgrims thirty years before. To command the fifty men it promised to impress it appointed Miles Standish and the Thomas Willett who four years before had signed the Hartford Treaty on behalf of New Netherland. In the event, dilatory in its preparations, it sent no troops to Boston, but it did send Willett in the belief that as he was familiar with Manhattan he could give the leaders of the expedition 'advice and counsel.' John Underhill and John Young, who was the leading spirit among the English at the eastern end of Long Island, also betook themselves to Boston. They all journeyed in vain. The expedition did not sail. On June 20, the very day when the federal commissioners were informed that an adequate force stood ready, countermanding orders arrived from England. Peace had been concluded between the English and the Dutch.

The war had gone against the Dutch and had greatly injured their shipping and fishing industries. Yet the English also were glad to lay down their arms, and Cromwell's government was able to enforce only a portion of its demands.

The chief element in the foreign policy of Cromwell was a desire to weaken Spain, the great enemy of Protestantism and of English ambition in the West Indies. He had just assumed the title of Lord Protector with all but monarchical powers; and in the first bloom of the laurels that the navy of the Commonwealth had won he and his advisers dreamed colossal dreams. One of them pictured a great perpetual union of all Protestant lands with common rights of citizenship and free trade; and as the first step toward its realization Cromwell secretly proposed to the Dutch envoys a new alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and Hol-

land, to be supported by sixty English and forty Dutch men-of-war. The allies were to have equal rights of trade in Europe and Africa. Asia and America they were to keep altogether for themselves. The Dutch, that is, were to have exclusive rights in the East Indies, where they had already taken the last English trading post, but were to compensate the English East India Company for its losses; and they were to aid the English to win control of 'all America,' North and South, 'and the trade thereof.' This, it was thought, might be accomplished within two years. Then the Dutch were to have the whole of Brazil and the 'salt pans of Venezuela' — the famous salt mines of Punta de Araya or Punta del Rey near the Orinoco — while all the rest of the Western hemisphere was to pass into the hand of England. The spread of the Protestant religion was to be one of the results of these magnificent re-arrangements, but the special baits held out to the Dutch were the humiliation of their old enemy, Spain, and the general pacification of Europe, for:

> There would of necessity follow the unableness of the Spaniard, that having lost America the sword, as it were, is taken out of his hand; and so consequently all Europe will be discharged of the cruel wars and perpetual attempts and plots either by himself or by the emperor of Germany. . . .

On the other hand it was said for the tempting of Cromwell's own people that

> . . . by this conquest England may very well enjoy such a revenue as to discharge all taxes of the subject of England and to pay all the navy and forces by sea and land by the customs of America, besides the great trade and riches the subject shall have thereby.

Rejecting all such proposals of alliance the Republic saved its independence but lost its chance to escape the effects of the Navigation Act. Cromwell's dream of a great Protestant league under the leadership of England dwindled to the actuality of a treaty of amity with the Republic. The Hollanders then agreed to pay a large sum of money, to make reparation for the Amboyna affair, to appoint commissioners

to settle other old disputes, to recognize the right of the English to trade in the Orient, to instruct their ships to salute the English flag 'in the British seas,' and permanently to exclude the grandson of Charles Stuart, the young Prince of Orange, from his hereditary offices as stadholder and military chief of the province of Holland. This meant, of course, his exclusion from power and influence in the Republic at large.

Of the Protector's vision of pan-American conquest he realized an even smaller part. Although England and France were at peace Major Sedgwick's commission contained a customary clause giving power to make reprisals on the French. Urged and helped by the New Englanders when they were denied the chance to attack New Netherland, he attacked Acadia and brought it once more temporarily under the English flag. Then, as ordered by the home government, he joined the expedition sent out under comm nd of Venables and Penn against the Spaniards in the West Indies which, after a panic-stricken flight from the ill-defended shores of Hispaniola, seized and held the island of Jamaica.

This acquirement of Jamaica is a conspicuous milestone in the history of the British empire. It compelled Spain to recognize the right of other powers to hold territory in the West Indies; it gave England a firm footing in what had grown to be a great international battleground; and it determined that policy of expansion, adopted by the English government after the accession of Charles II, which, with the Navigation Acts that were then inspired by the Act framed in 1651, worked to establish the so-called 'mercantile system' of colonial administration. Nevertheless, to acquire Jamaica and Acadia was a small achievement in comparison with a scheme intended to force all Europe into quiescence, to give England and Holland the monopoly of American lands and wealth, and thus to enable England, with its lion's share, to live on its colonial revenues.

The historians of England and the biographers of Cromwell make scant reference, if any reference at all, to this abortive scheme, but for two reasons it should be remembered when the

story of the American colonies is written. It reveals picturesquely the attitude in regard to transatlantic possessions that all colonizing nations preserved until long after England lost its most valuable dependencies — the attitude of a mother who feels that her children exist in order that she may enrich herself by their labors. And it proves how clearly by the middle of the seventeenth century Europe recognized the dominating influence of the western hemisphere upon its own internal affairs. Interesting testimonies to the same fact may be found in the pages of the English poets of this period — for example, where Edmund Waller writes of Spain:

> From the New World her silver and her gold
> Came, like a tempest, to confound the Old;
> Feeding with these the bribed electors' hopes,
> Alone she gave us emperors and popes;
> With these accomplishing her vast designs,
> Europe was shaken with her Indian mines.

When the formal announcement of peace reached New Amsterdam from Holland in July Stuyvesant felt that he had good reason to order a day of thanksgiving. Narrowly indeed had his province escaped the fate that was to fall upon it just ten years later. His slender band of Dutchmen might have done their very best yet could have done nothing against the naturalized but disloyal English at their elbow and four ships of war carrying two hundred English regulars and more than six hundred New England volunteers.

The vessel that brought the news of the peace brought also the answer of the Amsterdam Chamber to the petitions that had been sent seven months before. The city magistrates got some of the things they had asked for. They were to have a *schout* of their own, distinct from the provincial *schout-fiscal,* although he was not to be chosen by election; they were to own their Stadt Huis on condition that they would never alienate or mortgage it, and to have a city seal; they were to receive and to disburse the excise moneys if they would pay the municipal salaries, to lay 'any new small

excise or impost with consent of the commonalty' should the director and council not object, and to have the power to execute transfers of property within the city limits, which insured them a revenue from fees. These concessions, however, the Amsterdam Chamber tempered by scolding the magistrates for helping to organize an 'independent assembly' and forbidding them for the future to hold 'private conventicles with the English or others,' matters of state being none of their business and, still less, attempts to alter the existing government. The recent *Remonstrance*, it said, contained not a single point that justified an appeal but only 'forged pretexts for an immediate factious sedition.' The people, it declared, had no right to send an agent to represent them in Holland, and the one whom they had sent should not return to America. Nor, it wrote to Stuyvesant, ought the people to be consulted in the imposition of taxes, adding:

> We think that you should have proceeded rigorously against the ringleaders of this work, and not to have meddled with it so far as to answer protests by counter protests and then to let it pass without further notice; for as it is highly arrogant for inhabitants to protest against their government, so do the authorities prostitute their office when they protest against their subjects without punishing them according to the situation and exigencies of the case. . . .

For once there was some excuse for words of this temper: no one in Holland could know what the Long Island Englishmen had said and done during the past two years without distrusting a movement in which they had had a share. In fact, despite their admittance to a convention with the Dutch, distrust and dislike of them had grown general in New Amsterdam as well as in Holland. This is shown even by the church records in which during earlier years English names frequently occur as those of sponsors in baptism for the children of Dutch parents but by 1653 cease to appear.

The governor in council also took the opportunity to lecture the city magistrates, resolving not to inquire into their past course but to summon them before the governor, in presence of the ministers of the gospel to admonish them to be more

respectful, and then to deliver to them the letters from the Company.

With its letters the Company sent out arms, ammunition, and a few soldiers, ordering the governor to chastise the rebels at Gravesend. Knowing that this would be too dangerous a move he merely deposed their magistrates, appointed others, and dismissed George Baxter from his post as English secretary.

Jochem Pietersen Kuyter whom the Amsterdam Chamber had selected as the city *schout* had recently been murdered by the Indians. In his stead Stuyvesant named Jacques Corteljau, or Cortelyou, a tutor in the household of the Honorable Cornelis Van Werckhoven; but Cortelyou refused the place and for a time the city had still to content itself with the provincial *schout-fiscal*, still the detested Van Tienhoven.

During the summer the dispute about the tapsters' excise revived. The magistrates, said the governor, had broken their promise to support the ministers, had not paid for the fortifying of the city, and had charged to the city's account the cost of sending a messenger with their appeals to Holland. The city, he said, must support its officials and also the soldiers from Holland whose number was soon to be increased. The city, said its magistrates, would support its *schout*, burgomasters, and *schepens*, a secretary, a court messenger, 'and what we further shall deem necessary to have'; and as regarded the church it would maintain one minister, one precentor who should also be schoolmaster, and one 'dog-whipper' or beadle. It would not support the soldiers. It must have a *schout* of its own. Neighboring places ought to contribute toward the defences of the capital in which their people had expected to take refuge; nevertheless it would give one-fifth of the cost, 3000 guilders, if its magistrates might lay a tax on city property. Highly indignant, Stuyvesant resumed into the provincial treasury the proceeds of the tapsters' excise; and, saying that it had been impossible to collect the tenths from the harvest, he imposed in its stead throughout the province a tax of a new kind — a direct annual tax of

twenty stivers on each head of horned cattle, twenty stivers on each acre of land, and the hundredth penny of the real value on each house and lot in New Amsterdam and Beverwyck owned by a person who held no lands elsewhere. It seems, however, that the governor was afraid to act upon the words which proclaimed taxation of so novel a sort as this. There is no proof that the property tax was ever collected; and later documents show that on Long Island at least the tenths were exacted, the people being forbidden to remove their crops from the field until the share of the government therein had been officially 'counted out.' The debt for the city fortifications was never entirely discharged.

Lower than ever had sunk the West India Company. It has been estimated that between the years 1633 and 1652 it received about three million guilders in subsidies, but nine millions were still owing to it without counting what it should have received before 1633. Moreover, what had been given was bestowed in such small successive amounts that it never had money enough at any one time to enable it to hold its colonies in Brazil. In 1654 it resigned them perforce to the Portuguese. On the other hand, in making his treaty of peace with the Dutch the Lord Protector of England had recognized them as the lawful owners of New Netherland, and this encouraged the Company to urge again the settlement of boundary lines. Accordingly, the States General instructed their ambassadors in England to suggest that the Connecticut River be made free to both nations and that the plantations to the westward of it be held by their English occupants as manors under the jurisdiction of New Netherland. The ambassadors replied that they had not facts enough to go upon, not even a copy of the Hartford Treaty; and the Company confessed that Governor Stuyvesant had never sent them a copy. Of course the government of England saw no reason why it should act in a matter of which the governments of New England had not spoken. So once again the matter dropped.

Massachusetts repealed its prohibition of traffic with New

Netherland when the prospect of war faded away. Thomas Baxter was at last arrested, upon the order of New Haven, and surrendered to Stuyvesant who held him for trial and when he broke jail confiscated his property on Manhattan. It has been said that it was the piratical energy of Thomas Baxter and his fellows that awakened commercial energy in Newport and the coast towns of Connecticut. If so, the impetus worked very slowly. More than twenty years later Edward Randolph, sent by Charles II to inquire into the condition of New England, reported that Connecticut had only small vessels 'to trade along the coast and take fish'; and a report written in 1680 by Governor Sanford of Rhode Island says that this colony had as yet 'no merchants' although the people exported horses and provisions and imported 'a small quantity of Barbadoes goods' to supply their own families.

Although by 1650 eight expeditions had been sent from Sweden to New Sweden, in 1652 Governor Prinz wrote home that it had only two hundred inhabitants, some of whom were Dutch, while twenty-six Dutch families were living where Stuyvesant had placed them under the walls of his new Fort Casimir. Prinz, greatly discouraged, asked more than once to be recalled, and in 1653 some of his people wanted again to move to Manhattan. In 1654 a ninth expedition was despatched from Sweden taking John Rising, commissioned as assistant to the governor, and three hundred and fifty colonists. Rising's instructions directed him to try to secure the whole river by peaceably expelling the Dutch but to leave them undisturbed rather than run the risk of admitting the English. When he arrived, in May, Prinz had already sailed for home in a Dutch ship. Rising turned the little Dutch garrison out of Fort Casimir and declared that all the Hollanders in the region must come under his government. When the news reached Manhattan Stuyvesant and his burghers agreed for once in their wrath. A Swedish ship which strayed without a pilot into the waters back of Staten Island the governor seized and confiscated; and to the West India Company he

wrote an earnest appeal for definite orders in regard to Rising's outrage.

While he was waiting for these orders he took another voyage without the knowledge of his employers, going to Barbadoes to try to establish trading relations with its English settlers and the Spaniards their neighbors. On the eve of his departure he was the guest of honor at a 'jovial repast' in the Stadt Huis — the first civic banquet of which the records of Manhattan tell. The magistrates then renewed their request for permission to name their successors. To this Stuyvesant would not accede, but graciously he bestowed upon them the city seal that had been sent from Holland and a painted coat of arms to hang in their meeting room.

The arms thus formally conferred, the first borne by the city that is now New York, have been thus described:

> *Argent* per pale; three crosses saltire; *crest* a Beaver proper surmounted by a mantle on which is a shield argent bearing the letters G. W. C. Under the base of the arms: Sigullum Amstellodamensis in Novo Belgio; the whole environed by a wreath of laurel.

The three St. Andrew's crosses on a silver ground were the arms of the mother-city in Holland; the initials G. W. C. were those of the West India Company.

When Stuyvesant reached Barbadoes he found that he had come in vain although the islanders greatly desired to traffic with outsiders. Commissioners had recently been sent from England to enforce the new trading laws in the West Indies; at Barbadoes they had laid an embargo on all the foreign vessels in the port; and a letter written by one of them says:

> We have met the Dutch governor of New Netherland with three ships under his command. . . . This man's business was to settle a fair trade between the Netherlands and this place; but we spoiled the sport. He hath been under the embargo ever since we came; and the rather because he told us he had business with the Spanish plantations, and we are in more fear of him for the discovering our raw and defective forces than all the world besides. . . . This Dutch governor undertook to plead the cause of his countrymen and hath our answer in writing.

Stuyvesant's own report upon this fruitless voyage has not been preserved. Not for months, it appears, could he get permission to go back to Manhattan. Meanwhile a disquieting rumor about him probably reached his people, for John Davenport of New Haven, writing to John Winthrop, spoke of reports

> . . . that the Dutch governor is slain by the Spaniards, *sed ubi, quo modo, quando, quare, nondum constat.*

Disquieting also was another rumor that is known to have reached Manhattan: Van Tienhoven, now the presiding officer in the council, reported that at Gravesend George Baxter had recently declared that the English fleet had returned victorious from Canada to Boston and that the Lord Protector had again sent orders to reduce New Netherland.

Early in the year 1655 the council named the successors of those city magistrates who, according to the custom of the fatherland, should retire on February 2, appointing Oloff Stevensen as burgomaster to replace Martin Cregier, and Jan Vinje and Johannes De Peyster as two of the four new *schepens*. On Candlemas Day they were duly sworn. Although Stuyvesant had forbidden the notary public, Dirck Van Schelluyne, to practise when the States General sent him to the province, he had soon been confirmed in his functions by orders from the Company, and now with the advice and consent of the magistrates the council appointed him to a newly created office, high constable of the city.

It was Christmas Eve of the year 1654 when the governor sailed for Barbadoes; it was July, 1655, when he returned. Soon afterwards the orders he had asked for regarding the trouble on the South River arrived. Sweden being now at war with Poland, and Holland therefore less afraid of giving offence, the West India Company directed him to avenge the insulting seizure of Fort Casimir and to drive the Swedes out of the river, and sent for his use a ship which in after years he described as carrying about thirty-four guns, ninety

sailors, and fifty soldiers. He was too ill at the moment to make his preparations in person but his deputies vigorously executed his orders to enlist volunteers under promise of compensation for loss of life or limb, and to press men and provisions from the North River trading sloops. A letter written on the ship that had come from Holland by a certain Johannes Bogaert, a clerk in the employ of the Company, does not tally with the governor's own account for it says that the seven vessels of his squadron mounted in all only sixteen guns. They carried, it also says, three hundred and seventeen fighting men besides 'a company of sailors' — a force which, including a large majority of the able-bodied burghers of Manhattan, greatly outnumbered any that the Swedish colony could raise. It was divided into two companies, one commanded by Stuyvesant himself, the other by his chief councillor Nicasius De Sille. Domine Megapolensis went with them as chaplain.

The local records say that they set sail on Sunday, September 5, 'after the sermon.' By Monday afternoon they were in Delaware Bay. A day or two later, set on shore near the ravished Fort Casimir, they threw up breastworks and prepared to attack it. But it surrendered before a blow had been struck, so did Fort Christina, and the Swedes and Finns on the outlying farms could not think of resistance. Some of the settlers swore allegiance to New Netherland, some removed to Manhattan, some accepted Stuyvesant's offer of free transportation to Europe. According to Israel Acrelius who wrote a history of New Sweden when, about a hundred years after its fall, he was serving as pastor among the descendants of its people, only nineteen took the oath of allegiance while

> . . . the flower of the Swedish male population were at once torn away and sent to New Amsterdam although everything was done as though it were with their free consent.

No one was deprived of his property by official order although it appears that many farms were raided before the forts

surrendered. It was a small and a bloodless war, but it removed the flag of Sweden forever from the American continent. It was possible, Acrelius thought,

> . . . that if Director Rising had not upon his arrival stirred up the Hollanders anew both races might have lived many years together and by their common forces have kept out the English.

No triumphant home coming awaited General Stuyvesant. He found New Amsterdam in imminent danger, in wild alarm. The River Indians had broken loose again.

They had never been really friendly since the conclusion of Kieft's war. Stuyvesant had treated them kindly and promised to punish any offending white man if they would appeal to him; and his ordinances in regard to the sale of bread show that he still permitted them to traffic freely at New Amsterdam. But, his enemies said, he had sometimes disregarded their rights in granting lands; and undoubtedly a contagion of restlessness infected them from the north and northwest. Here the Iroquois had long been on the war path, defeating and scattering the Hurons and the so-called Neutral Nation which occupied the peninsula beyond the Great Lakes, harassing the French settlements, and in the current year, 1655, destroying the Eries along the southern shore of the water that bears their name.

A Remonstrance Exposing the Bad Conduct of the Barbarous Indians toward the Dutch Nation, sent by Stuyvesant to Holland before the end of the year, tells of the uprising of the River tribes. It says that after the 'firm and irrefragable peace' concluded by Kieft in 1645 the savages near New Amsterdam, 'without any cause so far as we know,' destroyed at various times much of the settlers' property and murdered ten persons, five of them, including Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, on Manhattan itself. The government had demanded in vain the surrender of the murderers and for the sake of peace had 'winked at' the crimes. Then, fourteen days after the governor sailed for the South River taking every able-bodied soldier from the fort and most of the burghers,

. . . very early in the morning, nigh this City of New Amsterdam, arrived sixty-four canoes full of Indians who before scarcely anyone was yet risen scattered themselves throughout this city and during the following day in many houses and to divers burghers offered numerous insults. . . . Thereupon their Sackimas or Chiefs, being summoned before the council, gave very fair words and promised to depart before the evening. They remained nevertheless, with what intent God the Lord only knows.

The city doubled its guards during the night but in the morning the savages wounded Hendrick Van Dyck with an arrow and threatened Paulus Van der Grist with an axe:

Thereupon great uproar and tumult arose; some of the burghers got into conflict with the Indians and some, though few, were killed on both sides.

Nineteen hundred savages, it appears from other accounts, had gathered together on the North River, and seven or eight hundred fully armed had landed on Manhattan. The general belief, as Stuyvesant reported, was that they had not meant to harm the Dutch but were merely on their way to attack a tribe of Indians at the eastern end of Long Island. Some thought, however, that they had planned a raid on New Amsterdam to avenge a squaw whom Van Dyck had shot when he found her stealing peaches in his orchard. At all events Van Dyck seems to have been the only person they tried to kill until the burghers 'got into conflict' with them. It was Cornelis Van Tienhoven who urged on the burghers although as *schout* he was chiefly responsible for the public peace. Evidently he had learned nothing at all from the result of the evil counsels he had given Governor Kieft in 1643. Tragical again were the effects of his folly. The Indians retreated to Pavonia, burned all the buildings there, killed almost every man, took the women and children captive, and then, crossing to Staten Island, ruined its eleven bouweries and murdered twenty-three of their ninety inhabitants. Even the Kuyter bouwerie and another on the upper part of Manhattan were ravaged and the households mur-

dered; the same thing happened at one or two spots on Long Island; and above the Harlem River Van der Donck's patroonship and the Bronck and Cornell plantations were sacked although their people escaped. Altogether, within three days fifty colonists (some accounts say one hundred) lost their lives, a hundred and fifty were captured, Cornelis Melyn among them, and three hundred were left homeless and penniless. Twenty-eight bouweries and many lesser farms were desolated and great quantities of recently garnered grain were destroyed.

The English towns on Long Island sent word to the city that the Indians meant to kill all their Dutch inhabitants. From the farms in the neighborhood and from the newly settled Esopus region up the North River bands of refugees flocked into New Amsterdam. Deprived of its defenders by Stuyvesant's expedition it sent an express to call him home. The councillors who had remained at home added 'extraordinary' members to their board, and with their consent the city magistrates borrowed money from the burghers to protect the transinsular wall by a high screen of planks which the savages could not scale. Fortunately the raiders, lacking food and embarrassed by the number of their prisoners, did not attack the city. When the governor returned he forbade any vessel to leave the harbor, any able-bodied man to depart, and sent guards to the suburban settlements. After some parleying the Indians exchanged more than seventy of their captives for a quantity of powder and lead. The life of one Christian, said Stuyvesant, was more valuable than the lives of a hundred barbarians, and to redeem it even contraband articles might rightly be given. The commissioners of the United Colonies, learning while in session at New Haven that many Dutchmen had been captured, decided to send two or three messengers to try for their release but let the matter drop when they heard that the worst had passed and that the Dutch themselves were treating with the savages.

Toward the end of October Rising and some of his soldiers

came from the South River and reëmbarked on two of the Company's ships which landed them in England. The *Remonstrance* about the barbarous natives was despatched at this time, reciting the disastrous effects of the raid and asking for substantial help in soldiers and in money; and it seemed best to the governor and council to send several copies of it because, they said, — driven now to courses which they had condemned the people for adopting, — the Company might be unable to help its province and therefore the appeal ought also to reach the States General and the city of Amsterdam.

Among the manuscripts in the Public Library of New York are two letters of Nicasius De Sille's which throw the blame for the recent disaster partly upon the governor himself. One is addressed to the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, the other to J. Bontemantel, a member of the Chamber and at the time a burgomaster of Amsterdam. In the first De Sille complained that Stuyvesant always ordered him to accompany him when he went to a distance, thus leaving the province without proper direction, and when at home scoffed at him over the council-board. A governor, De Sille hoped, might be sent out who was not so self-willed and had not so ignorant a *schout-fiscal;* but in case 'the two' were to be continued in office he himself ought to have a commission that would give him more power. Writing to Bontemantel in the autumn of 1656 he related that the South River forts had been taken 'without stroke or shot.' When the expedition returned to New Amsterdam it found everything 'very desolate.' All the houses at Pavonia and on Staten Island were burned, more than a hundred persons lay dead, and many were wounded. People were wanting to return to Holland, and some merchants were actually leaving. The burghers and the farmers who had flocked into the city were calling down 'vengeance and death' on Cornelis Van Tienhoven and two or three others, crying out that they were the only cause of the calamity. General Stuyvesant was 'not praised' because he made no investigation of the

matter, seeming to intend to protect the *schout-fiscal* and to give the complainants no chance to be heard. De Sille himself could get no hearing from any one because everything had occurred during his absence. There was now, the letter implies, only one councillor besides the two, Van Tienhoven and De Sille, who with the governor composed the 'supreme council.' Stuyvesant and Van Tienhoven, it says, cast three votes in the council while La Montagne and De Sille cast only two and therefore were 'obliged to follow' whether for the good of the Company or not. Moreover, the governor and the *schout-fiscal*, although they appeared like enemies, were really working together, and La Montagne was also in the ring (*in mede in't parquet*). Unless a change were made De Sille, he insisted, could not perform his own duties properly and everything would go to ruin. And again he explained that when Stuyvesant left home he gave no proper orders for the conduct of the government, and that either the governor or he himself, the first councillor, ought always to remain at New Amsterdam.

For a while Stuyvesant debated with his councillors whether it would be wise to attack the offending Indian tribes. The party that had landed on Manhattan, he believed, had been diverted from its original design upon the Long Island tribes by 'a culpable want of vigilance' and the 'too hasty rashness' of a few 'hot-headed spirits'; and the council decided that it would be highly imprudent to take the offensive. Only Cornelis Van Tienhoven spoke for war. All agreed that the settlers were greatly to blame for not gathering in compact villages, the very smallest of which the savages would never molest; and all said that more caution should be observed in admitting Indians into the settlements. Before the end of November the government renewed its old compacts with the Long Island Indians and the Mohawks. Against the River Indians it attempted nothing. From this time on no red man was permitted to remain overnight within the walls of New Amsterdam.

For the South River region, where there was no one now

to dispute the authority of the governor of New Netherland, Stuyvesant organized a subordinate government with a deputy governor, secretary, and 'court of civil justice.' The most absorbing question of the time, however, was the old question of taxation, doubly pressing because of the losses and the outlays resulting from the Indian raid.

Some months before, the Company had instructed Stuyvesant to establish no more patroonships or 'colonies,' fearing presumably that they would promote the growth of the spirit of independence. It reproved him for his failure to send it a complete copy of the Hartford Treaty of 1650, saying that its negotiations had thereby been so delayed that there was now little prospect of ever settling the boundary dispute, and charging him to repair his error at once and never again to make the Company suffer through 'such carelessness.' Furthermore it wrote:

> We have been aware and now again learn with displeasure that the community there cannot be persuaded to raise subsidies; it looks very strange that people of experience and sound judgment, as the municipal officers and others under you must be, continue to sustain so perverse opinions contrary to all reason and justice and notoriously in contradiction to the maxims of every well-governed county or city. But what we have said at large in our last letter we repeat now: It is not necessary to wait for their consent and approbation.

As it was so difficult to collect the tenths from the harvests, the Company added, the effort should be suspended for a year. It approved of the governor's 'measures to raise subsidies' — those taxes upon land and cattle which he had imposed but apparently did not try to collect. And to the city magistrates the Amsterdam Chamber wrote in the same strain, explaining that taxation could no longer be postponed without bringing ruin on the province, and directing that, as the magistrates had misappropriated the money from the tapsters' excise, using it to send an agent to Holland and to further other 'private matters to the injury and discontent' of the Company, therefore the aforesaid revenue should be

turned into the Company's treasury as the governor had ordered.

In spite of all this backing from his superiors Governor Stuyvesant walked very cautiously. A property tax was, indeed, collected from the people to pay the public debts recently incurred; but it was laid in a way that shows how loth were the authorities to resort to such an expedient even in a time of great need. It was really not a tax in our sense of the term but in the old English sense a 'benevolence'; and in imposing it the city magistrates took the initiative. The burgomasters, petitioning the provincial government for leave to raise the needed sum, estimated at 4000 guilders, were instructed to get the indorsement of the *schepens;* and this being done the governor in council empowered them

> . . . to ask from the trading skippers, merchants, factors, passengers, and from the common burghery, a voluntary subscription and contribution, each according to his condition, state, and circumstance. And in case of opposition or refusal by disaffected or evil-minded, which the Director-General and Council do not expect, the aforesaid . . . are authorized at the instance of the Director-General to assess such and according to the state and condition of the same to exact a reasonable contribution and promptly to levy execution for the same.

The inhabitants were then summoned before the governor and the city magistrates to offer their contributions or to be assessed for them. The method of assessment was merely a rough guess at what would be 'reasonable' in each case. In this fashion 6305 guilders were pledged by two hundred and twenty-eight persons including a few women and also some non-residents several of whom lived near Fort Orange. The list begins:

> The Honorable Lord Petrus Stuyvesant offers for his share 50 guilders above the most, being 150 guilders.

Almost all the provincial and municipal officials gave voluntarily, some of them as much as 100 guilders. So did the two clergymen and many other citizens rich and poor. Only

sixty-five, offering nothing at all, were taxed, and these included of course all absent persons. Some men said that they were willing to pay but asked to have the amounts fixed for them. Others offered sums which the city fathers increased, and a few were told that they need not give as much as they had volunteered to pay. The smallest sum accepted was four guilders, and no one paid more than a hundred excepting three absent skippers each of whom was taxed for as much as the governor had contributed. Some persons of the poorer sort commuted for a certain number of days' labor. No English names appear on the list except those of Thomas Hall and of Isaac Allerton and Thomas Willett who, although non-residents, had business interests on Manhattan. It proved more difficult to collect than to assess the contributions. They were not all paid until two years had gone by.

It would take many years, Stuyvesant and the council had written to Holland, to bring the province back into the flourishing condition it had reached before the Indian foray. Property to the value of a hundred thousand guilders had been destroyed, Pavonia was tenantless, only seven or eight persons remained on Staten Island, and everywhere the white men were in terror of the red men. Even in New Amsterdam it was thought best to patrol the streets on Sundays while the citizens were at church. Before the spring, the governor ordered, the settlers must abandon all isolated farms and gather into villages — a mandate more easily spoken than obeyed; and each merchant in the city, he said, must contribute a piece of cloth towards a fund for the ransom of such captives as might still be surrendered by the savages. Not all the unfortunates were rescued. Some the Indians insisted upon keeping as hostages, others they had taken so far into the wilderness that they could not be traced.

As a result of the calamity one person justly suffered. In answer to the reports upon it the directors of the Company wrote that they believed that the *schout-fiscal* 'with clouded

brains filled with liquor' had been a 'prime cause' of the late 'doleful massacre,' or at all events might have prevented it by caution and good sense. They were 'astonished' that Stuyvesant and the council should wish to shield such a person in the face of the reiterated complaints of the community. Having also discovered frauds in the accounts of his brother, Adriaen Van Tienhoven, who had held various minor posts in the province and was now a customs officer on Manhattan, they ordered that both the offenders be dismissed from their service, and appointed Nicasius De Sille *schout-fiscal*. Thus in 1656, New Netherland was at last relieved of an official whom for fifteen years it had rightly considered its heaviest burden and deepest disgrace.

Even then Stuyvesant would not give the city a *schout* of its own but put De Sille in this place also. A few months later De Sille asked permission to seize and seal the property of Van Tienhoven as he had 'absconded.' His hat and cane were found 'floating in the water' near the shore of the island, but what had become of him no one ever knew. His estate was administered upon as that of a dead man. He was, said a witness cited to prove his immoralities in the courts at the Hague, a 'corpulent and thickset person of red and bloated visage and light hair'; or, as another described him, 'of ruddy face, corpulent body, and having a little wen on the side of his face.' These appear to be the only verbal portraits of a New Netherlander that have come down to us.

Adriaen Van Tienhoven also vanished but was known in after years to be working as a cook in Barbadoes. One or both of the brothers left descendants on Manhattan, and a Van Tienhoven married in 1737 John Jauncey, the founder of a well-known New York family. The name, however, has died out, and two streets that were called Tienhoven for a time were long ago rechristened.

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CHAPTER XII

THE LATTER YEARS OF NEW NETHERLAND

1655–1663

(Governor Stuyvesant)

And again we asked, What right had the kings of Spain, France, or England more than the Hollanders or Dutch to the New World — America? — *Augustine Herrman: Journal of the Embassy from New Netherland to Maryland. 1659.*

In Europe several publications relating to New Netherland quickly followed Van der Donck's *Remonstrance,* printed in 1650. A tract on the Mohawk Indians written by Domine Megapolensis was published at Amsterdam in 1651; and in the same year Joost Hartgers of Amsterdam issued a book that was compiled from this tract, the *Remonstrance,* and De Laet's history and called a *Description of Virginia, New Netherland, New England, Bermuda, and the West India Islands.* This is the book already mentioned as containing the first print from the earliest known picture of New Amsterdam, undoubtedly drawn before the church in the fort was built in 1642.

A map called the Danckers Map, published at some date after 1650, was apparently the basis of the more important Visscher Map of *Novi Belgii, Novæque Angliæ nec non partis Virginiæ.* This was issued at Amsterdam in Visscher's *Atlas Minor* in 1655 and was adorned with the second view of New Amsterdam that is known to us, drawn by Augustine Herrman. A copy is still attached to the West India Company's report upon Stuyvesant's South River expedition, preserved in the archives at the Hague. At this period the Blaeus of Amsterdam and other cartographers also issued atlases containing maps of New Netherland. One which

was published by the French house of Sanson in 1656 shows the '*Nouveau Pays Bas*' extending below New England and including Cape Cod.

The picturesque and valuable journal of Captain De Vries was printed at Alckmaer in 1655 under his own supervision. The title-page describes him as 'Ordnance-Master of the Most Noble Lords the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland and the North Quarter.' The frontispiece is a half-length portrait, inscribed as taken in 1653 when he was sixty years of age and showing a strong aquiline face, the brow encircled by a wreath of laurel. The dedication to the noble lords aforesaid gives an idea of the scope of the book, from which of course only such passages have here been quoted as bear directly on the history of New Amsterdam. It was written, says its author, from his personal experience in America

> . . . in order to make known to trading and seafaring persons what trade and profits (accidents excepted) are to be had there, and to point out to them the good havens and roadsteads for securing their ships and goods, and to warn seamen of the rocks, shoals, and dangerous bars, in order that they may avoid them; showing them also what course they must take at sea, and how they must govern themselves by the wind, sun, moon, and stars.

In 1655 was also published a *Description* (*Beschrijvinghe*) *of New Netherland* written, evidently to promote emigration, by Adriaen Van der Donck during his enforced detention in Holland but not issued until after his return to America. A small quarto, the title-page adorned with a curious version of the arms of New Amsterdam, a much excited beaver serving as the crest, it is probably now the rarest and the most costly of the early books relating to the Dutch province. It is chiefly although not wholly a compilation from Van der Donck's own *Remonstrance* and the second edition of De Laet. The first issue contained a reproduction of the earliest picture of New Amsterdam; a second, which followed in 1656, showed a reduction of the Visscher Map including the

second picture, Augustine Herrman's. This reduction has been more often reprinted than any other map of the province; and the picture it bears, showing the fort, the church, a windmill, the tall flagstaff used in signalling the arrival of vessels, and a gallows near the water's edge, remains the standard picture of New Amsterdam, for no artist, it seems, or at least no engraver, again depicted the city until the year 1673, nine years after it had become New York. It is true that an old water-color picture of New Amsterdam, now owned by the New York Historical Society, is inscribed to the effect that it was drawn in 1650 on the ship *Lydia*. But no ship of this name is on record as having entered the port, and the drawing appears to be a copy of a later print.

These various publications, aided for a time by Van der Donck's personal efforts, encouraged emigrants of a good class to embark for New Netherland although the war between England and Holland, making the seas unsafe, interfered somewhat with their transportation. A number of Finns and Swedes from the South River likewise sought the shores of the North River, and, as Domine Megapolensis wrote, 'the scum of all New England' was 'drifting' into the province.

The Company had again instructed Governor Stuyvesant that whether boundary lines were fixed or not, 'contract or no contract,' he must not permit the English to encroach any farther on his territories. The only way to keep them out was to set Dutch villages along their borders, and this method Stuyvesant's people were too weak in numbers to employ. In 1654 a large party from Fairfield in the New Haven jurisdiction, led by Thomas Pell who had been a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I, had appropriated a wide tract in the present county of Westchester, buying it from the Indians who had already sold it to the Dutch, and declaring themselves under the protection of the Commonwealth of England. It was customary for an Indian brave to assume the name of any conspicuous person he had killed; and one of the sachems who signed the deed to Pell thus

confessed himself the murderer of Anne Hutchinson, giving his name as 'Ann Hoock.'

These new settlers, planting themselves far within the indisputable limits of New Netherland as fixed by the Hartford Treaty, received criminal fugitives from Manhattan and, the Dutch believed, held correspondence with the savages who in 1655 were raiding Staten Island and Pavonia. In the spring of 1656 Stuyvesant put some of them briefly under arrest, forced them to acknowledge his jurisdiction, and, granting them a local government of the Dutch pattern, organized the first town north of the Harlem River. The Englishmen called it Westchester; the Dutchmen, looking at it from the opposite point of view, called it Oost Dorp, East Village. At the beginning of the year 1657 Stuyvesant induced its settlers to take an oath that they would 'own the governor of the Manatas as our governor and obey all his magistrates and laws' so long as they remained within his government.

Early in 1655, before the Indian outbreak and while the governor was absent in Barbadoes, the irrepressible George Baxter with James Hubbard as his chief supporter tried to raise a revolt at Gravesend, running up the English flag and claiming for his associates the rights of English subjects. The council arrested both Baxter and Hubbard and imprisoned them in the fort. A twelvemonth later their fellow-townsman Sir Henry Moody petitioned for their release. Hubbard was set free on his promise of good behavior and Baxter, after pledging his property as security that he would not try to escape, was transferred from his 'cold prison' to the debtors' detention room in the Stadt Huis. Escaping nevertheless, he fled to Long Island and then to New England. His property, including a farm on which Bellevue Hospital now stands, was confiscated to pay his debts. From his long years of employment under the Dutch he retained nothing but the name of a traitor to those whom he had sworn to serve and protect, and the power to do them further injury in future years.

After delaying five years Stuyvesant had sent the West India Company a copy of the Hartford Treaty. In the autumn of 1656 he learned that in February the States General had ratified it and had authorized the Company to try to induce Cromwell to do the same. Cromwell did nothing — naturally, for the United Colonies had never asked him to move in the matter; but hoping for his support Stuyvesant again proposed to the New Englanders a defensive league against the Indians. They answered that they wished for no closer union with his people and reproached him for intruding upon their territories at Oyster Bay where, as he affirmed, the English themselves had crossed the line laid down by the Hartford Treaty, and for not formally surrendering Greenwich as the treaty had prescribed. About the intrusion of Thomas Pell and his friends and about Connecticut's sequestration of Fort Good Hope they said no word.

Before George Baxter left Long Island for New England he had persuaded some of his friends to appeal directly to Cromwell, and in 1657 Cromwell's secretary of state, John Thurloe, addressed in his name to the 'English well-affected inhabitants' of the island a letter which its bearer intended publicly to read to them. Stuyvesant arrested the man and sent the missive unopened to Holland. Its tenor may be divined from a paper called *A Brief Narration of the English Rights to the Northern Parts of America* which was prepared by Thurloe or for his use in 1656. It says that the English had the best right to these regions because of the discoveries of Cabot, and the best evidence of right because of 'their great improvements thereof almost to the world's wonder.' The Dutch had no rights 'either in the general or the particular' but had 'intruded upon and anticipated' the 'first discoverers,' who were of the English nation, 'and that at first by a violent usurpation and force upon the native Indians.' This, however, as the writer conceived — ignoring Cromwell's recent recognition of the right of the Republic to its American province — had been done by particular persons rather than with the approbation of the Dutch government. For

these and other reasons he warned all Englishmen, and especially those meaning to settle in the western parts of Long Island, to be 'very cautious' not to make themselves guilty of either ignorantly or wilfully betraying the right of their nation by 'subjecting themselves and lands to a foreign power.'

Singular enough are the evidences of the English right cited in this document. King James, it says, had once granted Staten Island to the Dutch as a 'watering place' for their West India fleets; the Dutch had long called their province Virginia 'as a place dependent upon or relative to the Old Virginia'; and only in 'very late years' had they given it 'a new Dutch name' and 'new Dutchified' the other 'old English names in those parts in America.' The one foundation for these fictions was the fact that the Dutch, like the English themselves, still sometimes used 'Virginia' as a general term for the coasts between Florida and New England or even Acadia. Heylin's *Cosmography*, as republished at this time, tells equally curious stories, saying that Hudson was sent on his famous voyage by King James and that the Dutch had agreed to surrender all their claims to the Earl of Plowden for £2000 but when the civil war broke out in England refused to do so and armed the Indians to help them against the English.

Stuyvesant's success in reducing the Swedes on the South River had been dearly bought. To meet the cost of it the West India Company had to borrow 24,000 guilders of the city of Amsterdam; and to discharge this debt in 1656 it transferred part of its lands on the river to the city, which hoped to people them with Protestant Waldenses recently driven into Holland by the persecutions in Piedmont. Most of the first band of settlers sent out by the city, a hundred and fifty in number, were wrecked near Fire Island on the Long Island shore. Stuyvesant himself went to their aid, brought them to Manhattan, and sent them on to their destination. For a time the new settlement, which was called

New Amstel, gave good promise; then, through mismanagement on both sides of the ocean, its inhabitants melted away and it fell into such distress that before the end of the year 1659 its director wrote to Stuyvesant: 'Our bread magazine, our pantry room, our only refuge is Manhattan.'

Meanwhile Governor Fendall of Maryland had claimed the whole Delaware country as covered by Lord Baltimore's patent; and in 1659 he sent a member of his council who, with threats of force, summoned the 'pretended' vice-director of the Dutch to abandon his fort and his colony within three weeks. Despatching by overland paths sixty soldiers under Martin Cregier, then the captain of the burgher guard of New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant also sent Augustine Herrman and Resolveert (or Resolved) Waldron, a Dutchman of English parentage, to try what documentary persuasion might effect, intrusting to them a long *Declaration and Manifest of the West India Company's Right.* This began by explaining that the king of Spain had been the overlord of the Dutch when he obtained the sovereignty of all the western world, and that his successor, when making a final peace with the Republic, had renounced to it all his right and title to the countries and domains it had acquired in Europe, America, and elsewhere. In our own day the spokesmen of Venezuela thought this assertion worth citing when they were discussing with the English boundary questions which involved a consideration of the old rights of the Dutch in their quarter. But no Englishman of Stuyvesant's day can have felt that he need give it a thought. It was, in truth, a mere bit of special pleading which the witness of history does not clearly support; and in the very paper that set it forth Stuyvesant himself explained that 'such claim and forced argument' was unnecessary as the case of New Netherland rested on unquestionable facts of various dates from Hudson's discoveries to Cromwell's recognition of the Dutch title. In spite of these facts, says Augustine Herrman's journal of the embassy, Philip Calvert — Baltimore's brother and the secretary of the

province — insisted that the borders of Maryland stretched northward to New England,

> . . . whereupon we enquired, If they wish to touch New England where in that case would New Netherland be? He answered, He knew not.

The patent given by Charles I in 1632 had defined the territories of Maryland as lying below the fortieth degree of north latitude; yet, assuming that the fortieth degree was 'where New England is terminated,' it had ignored the existence of New Netherland and had supplied grounds for controversy not only with the Dutch province but also with the later-born province of Pennsylvania. The body of the document did not include the usual provision regarding lands already occupied by other Christians, but the preamble stated that it was Lord Baltimore's intention to take no such lands. And when Stuyvesant's envoys were permitted to examine the patent they averred that by virtue of this clause it was invalid, adding that the New Netherlanders

> . . . were not subjects of England but a free people belonging to the Dutch nation who . . . had as much right to take possession of lands in America as any other nation.

Seldom in any dispute about New World lands was the bottom truth so frankly laid bare as it was in this case by Herrman — the truth that no Old World nation had any right at all to such lands except the ability to seize and to hold them.

Stuyvesant had asked that a joint commission be appointed by the two colonies to settle their limits or that these be otherwise referred to arbitration. Nothing of the sort was effected, but his manifesto and Herrman's arguments put a stop to the aggressive designs of Maryland.

Thus far Massachusetts had been a fairly good friend to New Netherland. By 1659, however, its people began to realize that if, taking advantage of the terms of the charter

which extended their territories to the western sea, they should push into the Hudson River region they might intercept at its source and turn toward Boston the fur trade that the Dutch were enjoying. Therefore the general court, deciding to claim 'our just rights upon Hudson's River near the Fort of Aurania,' reserved the traffic along the river for twelve years to a company which had already sent agents to select a good site for a settlement on the eastern bank. In November, 1659, with the approval of the federal commissioners the court sent two envoys to demand of Stuyvesant free access to the river. One of them was a Major Hawthorne who had been among the commissioners that voted in 1653 to make war upon New Netherland. Davenport of New Haven, writing in February, 1660, to John Winthrop, said that Hawthorne and his companion had just passed through that town on their way back to Boston:

> The Dutch governor complimented them with liberal entertainment; but for the principal business about which they came, he denied to give them liberty of passing up the river, alleging that it would cost him his head if he should permit that; and some of the Dutch traders threatened that themselves would cut off his head if he should grant that unto the English; yet he offered them to refer the whole matter to England and Holland with acquiescence in their determination; which our friends refused, urging their line; against which the Dutch governor demanded, why they had not claimed it all this while? They answered that they find more need of it now than formerly. He pleaded long possession. They replied that the English had right to Hudson's River before them, and proved it more largely than I can now declare. The issue is they parted placidly, and our friends are to make their report to the court at Boston. In conclusion they told them that they should return again towards the end of summer. I perceive if the business proceeds as Major Hawthorne thinks it will, all the Colonies are likely to be engaged in a war with the Dutch.

In April Stuyvesant wrote to Massachusetts setting forth in detail the history of his province to show why the New Englanders rather than his own people ought to be called 'intruders.' The general court, he said, had mentioned the Rhine and the Elbe as examples of what River Mauritius

ought to become to the traders of all nations, but it might better have cited the Thames as River Mauritius belonged in its whole length to one government, his own. Those, he said, who lived under the patent of Massachusetts, which was granted long after Hudson made his discoveries and which forbade its holders to take lands previously occupied, would undoubtedly approve of the general rule accepted by all Christian nations: '*qui prior in possessione, prior est in jure.*'

In Stuyvesant's opinion, however, it was needless thus to argue: the Hartford Treaty had settled the question subject only to review by the authorities in Europe, and it said that the New Englanders were not to approach River Mauritius. The federal commissioners now declared that this treaty, drawing an actual boundary for only twenty miles northward from the Sound, did not 'prejudice the right of the Massachusetts in the upland country' or give 'any right to the Dutch there' as it related only to the differences of New Netherland with New Haven and Connecticut 'on the sea-coast' and neither New Haven nor Connecticut pretended to any right 'to the lands up the country.' Governor Stuyvesant, they believed, would be 'very slow . . . to interrupt the neighborly correspondency' between the Dutch and English colonies by an 'unreasonable denial' of the request of Massachusetts. It was a most unreasonable request, said Governor Stuyvesant: Bradstreet of Massachusetts and Prince of Plymouth had signed the treaty as 'delegates of the Commissioners of the English United Colonies,' not of Connecticut or of New Haven, and the treaty itself, he explained,

> . . . is explicit and speaks for itself; but even as the commissioners from Massachusetts then pretended to have no interest in the boundaries between us and the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven . . . so they also pretended then to have no interest in, title or right to, the lands, kills, and streams in the North River territory beyond the twenty miles. If they had done it, this and other questionable claims would then have been decided or at least discussed.

In June the governor wrote to the West India Company

that, in view of the 'ample and repeated reports' he had sent it, it should have given him 'broader advice' on so 'pregnant an occasion' and material assistance as well. He asked for Dutch settlers to occupy the spot on River Mauritius that the Massachusetts men had selected and for a frigate to protect the mouth of the river, the slaver *St. John* which had been ordered there having perished at sea. The New Englanders, he explained, were careless of the support of their mother-country, being convinced that they were ten times stronger than their Dutch neighbors, and their 'demands, encroachments, and usurpations' were giving New Netherland 'great concern.'

Much concerned on his own account was John Underhill at this time. Writing to Winthrop toward the end of the year that his part of Long Island had sent envoys to ask admittance as a member of Connecticut Colony, he explained that Stuyvesant had disposed of his lands, worth about £100, and was punishing him in other ways for the enmity he had shown New Netherland:

> He owes me moneys and deals as it pleaseth him; he is without control. . . . I have suffered a great deal of misery unjustly, although too quick in arming against the Dutch.

The accession of Charles II saved New Netherland from serious trouble at the moment. Oliver Cromwell died in the autumn of 1658; Charles was restored to his father's throne in the spring of 1660; and not knowing what the change might portend for themselves the New Englanders moved circumspectly for a while. But only for a little while. Massachusetts, as Stuyvesant wrote before the end of the year 1660, still claimed to be a free state dependent upon God alone but the people of its sister colonies were now as good royalists as they had been parliamentarians. None of them, it may be explained, had ever formally acknowledged the authority of the Protector. Now they had favors to ask of the new king. Some of them soon got what they wanted. And New Netherland soon realized its danger from a darkly

threatening cloud composed of three elements — the ambition of Connecticut, the disaffection of the Long Island English, and the international policy of the government of Charles II, a policy infused with antagonism to the Dutch.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the United Netherlands had achieved a place among the nations of Europe out of proportion to their size and the number of their inhabitants. At the zenith of their power in 1650, they had been shamed and weakened by the war with the Commonwealth of England but by 1660 had revived their navy and regained their influence and, in Temple's words, were 'the envy of some, the fear of others, and the wonder of all their neighbors.' Their strength lay in that geographical position relative to France, Germany, and the Netherlands of Spain which had made their friendship essential to the acquisition by either power of a predominance on the continent while it gave full scope to their own commercial energy and ambition; and it also lay, says Temple, in the form of their government and their religion — that is, in their subordination of class to national interests and in the tolerant temper which kept their own people contented and enabled them to turn to good account the intelligence and the resources of a multitude of refugees from foreign lands. On the other hand they had not the staying power that a wide territory and a large population confer. After their independence was secure they enfeebled themselves by fierce internal dissensions. The success of the anti-centralization party was due to a growing preponderance of the mercantile classes, averse to war and to costly preparations for probable days of danger. And so depleted was now the strength of the Spaniard that neither France nor England needed as greatly as in earlier years to protect itself against him by supporting or favoring the Republic. Of course Spain was still to be reckoned with even after its power was sorely shaken by the depredations of the West India Company and by Admiral Blake's great exploit, the destruction of the

Spanish fleet at Cadiz in 1657. But France and Holland were now directer rivals in that commercial world which was practically identical with the political world, while England — immensely helped by its safe isolation during the Thirty Years' War as well as by the great influx of artisans it had received from the continent and by its growth in naval power under the leadership of 'Oliver's captains' — now realized the importance of its position as holding the balance of power and understood more clearly than ever the need that it should dominate on the sea. It was actively struggling with the United Netherlands along many a commercial path, endangering them chiefly on the sea while France, wanting above all to acquire the Spanish Netherlands, threatened them chiefly on the land. Sweden, then a strong, aggressive, ambitious country, was trying to wrest from them the Baltic carrying trade. Every other power, Protestant or Catholic, had its own reasons for wanting to use or to injure the Republic, and every sovereign disliked and distrusted it because it was a republic. Thus the loosely united provinces which had made themselves the foremost sea power and the foremost money power of the world formed the corner-stone of the great international edifice that was always in unstable equilibrium, and for a time seemed as potent in politics as in trade. Yet they were in danger of losing their primacy in trade and even their national independence.

Harassed, bullied, humbled, and temporarily weakened by the Commonwealth of England the Hollanders hoped that friendlier relations would follow the restoration of Charles, and lavishly entertained and heartily speeded him when he set sail from their shores to claim his crown. In November of the same year the West India Company besought the States General to instruct the ambassadors extraordinary whom it was about to send to England that they should urge the new king to restrain the encroachments of his colonials upon the borders of New Netherland, to restore to it its ravished territories on Long Island and at the north, to consent to the drawing of boundary lines in this region, and to direct

Lord Baltimore to desist from his 'unfounded pretensions' at the south. It supported these requests by an elaborate paper called a *Deduction Concerning the Boundaries of New Netherland* which embodied many corroborative letters and other documents covering the years from the beginning of the controversy. And it also asked that Charles II should be induced to consent, as by the Treaty of Southampton Charles I had consented in 1623, that the ships of the Company should freely enjoy the hospitality of English ports.

The Dutch historian Japikse, of all writers the one who has most carefully studied the relations of Holland and England during the critical years that followed the Restoration, says in speaking of this year 1660:

> Never, perhaps, has a colony been treated by the motherland in a more stepmotherly fashion than was the little maritime settlement which had established itself in 1626 on the spot where New York was to develop. The fear felt by the West India Company of self-government in its province and the consequent systematic hindrance of the growth of the province proved here, as had been proved in Brazil, how badly the Company served the Republic. But . . . it should not be overlooked that a great deal of blame was to be imputed to the States General themselves who, here as elsewhere, had almost altogether neglected the affairs of the Company. Above all they should have taken hold more energetically in New Netherland where strife about boundaries with the neighboring English colonies gave continual cause for anxiety.

Especially was this true, Japikse continues, of the moment when the West India Company urged that the newly restored king be approached in the matter. But although the States General, to quote their own words, then instructed their ambassadors 'to terminate and determine according to equity with the said Most Illustrious King' the differences that had arisen regarding the boundaries of New Netherland they gave no more definite directions, the ambassadors took no steps in the matter, and the States General neglected to renew their order.

It is doubtful, however, what the result would have been

even had the States General insisted upon a consideration of the Company's demand. It was not the father of Charles II, it was Oliver Cromwell, who had marked out the path in which England was to tread as regarded those international commercial relations of which colonial affairs formed an integral part. Cancelling almost all the other laws passed under the Commonwealth, in the autumn of the year 1660 the new government of England strengthened, extended, and declared irrevocable the closely protectionist Navigation Act of 1651.

In doing this it fell in with the traditional policy of the realm. Cromwell's commercial rules, divergent though they were from certain other recent enactments, had not been innovations. They were merely the first effectual utterance of a desire to protect England against all foreign competition in commerce which had been expressed in legislation during the latter part of the fourteenth century and, although often lapsing out of mind, had as often revived, notably during the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. The earlier enactments were efforts to protect and to build up the shipping of the kingdom and, in Elizabeth's time, to foster the fisheries and the coasting trade. Under Elizabeth England cast off the fear of Spain, profited by the decline of the Hanse towns of Germany, and, stimulated by the immigration of Flemish artisans, began to develop its manufacturing industries. Under James I and Charles I this growth continued. Then the Commonwealth swept away the remnants of the old monopolies of the nobles and in great part of the artisan guilds, and shattered many of the later-born monopolistic trading companies which were largely composed of court favorites and their friends. Before Charles II came to the throne the mercantile and manufacturing classes were strong enough to demand monopolies in their turn and, with this end in view, to influence the foreign as well as the domestic policies of the realm. Their desire for protection reënforced the broad national desire to weaken the Dutch and to profit by imitating their methods in traffic, industry, and finance.

Plainly, the Navigation Act of 1651 although not well enforced had injured the carrying trade of Holland; and so the Acts of Charles's reign gave definite shape to the policy it had sketched — to that national policy, remembered as the 'mercantile system,' which was still in full force at the time of the American Revolution.

This system regulated both branches of maritime enterprise — commerce, the exchange of wares for other wares or for money, and navigation, their carriage upon the seas. And it was planned to benefit the nation as such as well as the individual Englishman in the kingdom proper. Its basal ideas were commercial protection of the sort indicated by the 'sole market' theory, and the development of shipping. Upon these foundation-stones was to be erected the broad structure of political power; for this power was thought to depend on the one hand upon the ability to secure a large reserve of gold and silver for use in foreign wars, and on the other hand upon the increase of shipping as a naval reserve and the training of a great body of seamen fit for militant as well as for commercial service.

The desire to amass a national reserve of specie was, of course, only one manifestation of the general belief that money and wealth were synonymous. This 'popular notion,' Adam Smith explained at a later day, was born of the fact that the double function of money as 'an instrument of commerce' and as the accepted 'measure of value' disguises the truth that it is 'the price of all other commodities' merely in the same sense that these are the price of money — the truth that gold and silver are simply the most serviceable commodities for effecting exchanges in the complicated methods of bartering called trade and commerce.

For a time after America was discovered this 'notion' showed itself in the eager desire to bring gold and silver from Occidental mines and to keep them at home. But the experience of the great bullion gatherer, non-industrial Spain, showed the futility of attempts at a direct massing of treasure. It proved that even what Smith calls 'sanguinary

laws' could not keep the precious metals in a country where there was small demand for them in internal trade and where scarcely anything was grown or manufactured that could be given in return for necessary foreign wares. Therefore other nations, profiting by Spain's example and understanding that money distributed throughout the country in the channels of trade could be secured in days of need for the use of the state, turned their minds to the fostering of manufactures and the development of a commerce which, exporting much and importing little except raw materials for use in the home industries which increased their value, should secure that favorable 'balance of trade' which meant the bringing in of more specie than was paid out of the country. Or, to quote the words of an official paper of 1660, the aim was that

> . . . the trade of the Kingdom to foreign parts may be so managed and proportioned that we may in every part be more sellers than buyers, that thereby the coin and present stock of money may be preserved and increased.

Mercantilism and state-building were thus identified. In the seventeenth century began for Europe that great centralizing, consolidating movement of which the end has not yet been seen. Every vital nation was developing a hitherto unknown sense of unity, trying to weld its component parts into a genuine whole, and, as one of the engines to accomplish this work, was building up a protective commercial system of national scope in the stead of the mutually antagonistic local systems that had previously prevailed. The upgrowth of monopolistic trading companies on the ruins of the old personal and local monopolies had been a step in this unifying movement. By the middle of the century the kingdom as such was striving, through protectionist laws that would benefit one class and another, to become itself the great monopolist; and the political strength thus evinced and thus augmented began to be turned to account in fierce international struggles for the support of national trading interests. Every European conflict between the

Thirty Years' War and the French Revolution was a trade war in which the great powers competed for a 'sole market'; and the Revolutionary wars became trade wars under Napoleon's management. Dynastic, territorial, and religious questions were conspicuous on the surface and the 'balance of power' was always the shibboleth; but what these matters really meant can be fully explained only in the language of the counting-house. For example, the desire of France to possess the Spanish Netherlands, which persisted from the outbreak of the Dutch revolt against Spain down to Napoleon's time, was supported by many political arguments but from first to last was inspired by the knowledge that in energetic hands these provinces might again outrival commercially, as they had before the Dutch revolt, those that formed the Dutch Republic.

In the work of national consolidation that was carried on in this manner England succeeded better than its rivals. The United Netherlands, partly because of exhausting wars, partly because of internal dissensions, paused when it was half accomplished; France had not quite finished it when the cyclone of 1789 broke forth; nor did Italy and Germany complete it until very recent years.

No government in the seventeenth century planned for what would now be called a system of imperial unification. Colonies were sometimes incidentally treated as parts of the parental state but theoretically were not considered such. Nor were they viewed as offshoots with natural, inalienable rights of their own. The official English name for them was 'his Majesty's foreign plantations.' Being thus, as it were, in and yet out of the realm they offered an excellent field for the compulsion of trade in ways that would be advantageous to the kingdom proper; and when Charles II came to the throne they were already greatly valued as employers of English shipping and sailors and as 'vents' for the developing manufactures of the mother-country.

One of the early measures of the new reign was the appointment of eleven members of the privy council as a

Committee for Trade and Plantations. Similar to a committee that had existed under the Protectorate, it continued for many years to supervise and control colonial affairs although before the end of the year 1660 commissions were issued for two large special councils, a Council of Trade and a Council for Foreign Plantations. The head of both these councils was Charles's great chancellor, Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon; and as long as he held office he was the guiding spirit of the commercial and therefore of the colonial policy of England.

The first of the important commercial laws of the time, passed as has been said in the autumn of 1660 and perpetuating the regulations of 1651, was called *An Act for the Encouraging and Increasing of Shipping and Navigation.* This law, designed to build up England's shipping, was followed in 1663 by *An Act for the Encouragement of Trade* intended to benefit the manufacturer and merchant, thereby to make England 'the staple,' the mart of exchange, the receiving and distributing centre for imports and exports, and thus to insure a favorable 'balance of trade.' These Acts prescribed that no vessels should enter for traffic a home or a colonial port except those built and owned in England or its plantations whereof the master and at least three-fourths of the crew were English subjects. And in regard to the colonies they said that even in their own or in English ships they should receive European goods, with a few exceptions, only from English ports where the king's customs had been paid, and only to English ports should send some of their most important products which the English manufacturer or merchant especially wanted and which, as they were listed in the Act, were called 'enumerated commodities.'

Together these Acts were known as the Acts of Trade and Navigation; more commonly to-day they are called the Navigation Acts. 'England' and 'English,' it may be added, meant simply the kingdom proper, Wales, and Berwick-on-Tweed. Except at the very first Ireland was excluded from the favoring provisions of the Acts. Scotland, although

under the same king, was a foreign country until its legislative union with England in 1707, and in 1661 it passed protective commercial laws of its own.

Owners of ships leaving England for the colonies and of colonial ships carrying enumerated commodities were required to give bond and security that they would observe the new laws. In 1661 an official, resident in England, was appointed to farm the revenues of the foreign plantations, but not until about ten years later were any special customs officers appointed for the colonies. All colonial governors were sworn to execute the laws and encouraged to do so by the promise of a third share of all confiscated goods, but there was no other machinery for the administration of the new Acts.

Disappointed and alarmed by the Navigation Act of 1660 the Dutch Republic under the guidance of De Witt, now its recognized leader in home and foreign affairs, strove hard for a favoring treaty with England, consenting as one measure of conciliation to abrogate the enactment that excluded the young nephew of Charles, Prince William, from the possibility of succeeding to the hereditary honors of the house of Orange. Charles had other grievances than this against the Republic which, although it had sheltered him during his early years of exile, had afterwards turned him out to placate Oliver Cromwell. Yet it was not, as has often been charged against him, personal animosity on his part that long delayed the conclusion of any pact with Holland. It was the strength of popular sentiment in his kingdom. Not until 1662 when it was feared that Holland would ally itself with France was a treaty concluded, and then it was one that worked with ever increasing friction. It gave the Hollanders no trading rights in England; it left past disputes for future settlement by arbitration; and — a clause to which the English seizure of New Netherland soon gave prominence — it provided that aggressions should not in future be met with force but should be reported to the government responsible for the aggressors, which would then inflict punishment and make reparation.

Meanwhile the Act of 1660 scarcely affected the commerce of the Dutch province. Maryland, for example, can hardly have thought of putting its precepts into practice when in 1661 it signed with New Netherland a treaty for their common protection against the Indians. This was the end for the moment of the controversy about the borders of Baltimore's province. Twenty-one years after the English had secured the whole seaboard, in 1685 when Maryland claimed the Delaware region that had once been part of New Netherland, the advisers of James II, basing their conclusions almost altogether upon written and oral evidence regarding the controversy of Stuyvesant's time, decided that this region was not a part of Maryland. And so it is chiefly to the stand taken by Stuyvesant in 1659 and the arguments of Augustine Herrman that the State of Delaware owes its independent existence.

Virginia, where no boundary questions could arise, was the one place that was peopled by Englishmen who had always been friendly to the New Netherlanders. Loyal to Charles I, antagonistic to the Commonwealth, they did not permit the Navigation Act of 1651 to interfere with the practice of shipping tobacco to Europe in Dutch vessels, which had always prevailed although as early as the year 1621 James I had forestalled the provisions of Cromwell's Act, forbidding the commodities of Virginia to be sent to foreign parts until after they had been landed in England and there paid the king's customs. In 1653, after the duty on tobacco had been lifted at New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant sent Domine Drisius to negotiate for the better encouragement and regulation of intercolonial traffic. And in 1660, employing now as his envoys his brother-in-law Nicholas Varleth, who had married his widowed sister Madame Bayard, and Captain Bryan Newton, he secured such a treaty as might have been negotiated by two independent powers. Establishing free trade between the two colonies, promising the subjects of each prompt and equal justice in the courts of the other, and prescribing the surrender of fugitive servants

and a satisfactory course with regard to absconding debtors, it was concluded by Governor Berkeley and promptly ratified by the assembly of Virginia. Then Berkeley sent it for ratification at New Amsterdam by the hands of Sir Henry Moody who, as the 'ambassador' of the government of Virginia, was received with the honors customarily accorded to diplomatic agents. All this happened before the accession of Charles was known in America; but when the West India Company answered Stuyvesant's report it said that, while it approved of the Virginia treaty, it feared that it would accomplish nothing because new and more stringent trade laws had just been enacted in England. In fact, when Berkeley went to England in 1661 to secure from the new king his confirmation as governor and to beg on behalf of his province for freedom in trade he was ordered strictly to enforce the hated rules. Nevertheless, they seem not to have been enforced any better than the rules of Cromwell's day.

In the spring of 1661, when Connecticut but not yet Massachusetts or New Haven had formally proclaimed the accession of Charles, Governor Endicott of Massachusetts communicated to the governor of New Netherland as well as to his English colleagues a letter which he had received from the king desiring that the 'regicides' Whalley and Goffe, who were known to have taken refuge in America, might be apprehended and returned to England. The 'Governor of Manadàs,' Endicott's messengers reported, promised to surrender the refugees if found within his jurisdiction and to search all outgoing vessels for them. Although it was thought by some in New England that Whalley and Goffe were exciting the Dutch to strengthen their province against the English nation, there is no evidence that they ever set foot in New Netherland.

It was this year that saw the conclusion of the war between Holland and Portugal which, long imminent, had begun in 1657. The treaty of peace wiped out the hope of the West India Company that it might regain the Brazilian

colonies it had surrendered in 1654. Freedom of trade in Brazil and in Africa was secured to it, and an indemnity of 8,000,000 guilders was promised by Portugal. But this could not save the Company, already on the point of bankruptcy, for it had no resources to depend upon for the future except the slave trade and the possession of New Netherland, its posts in Guiana, and a few of the smaller Antilles. Moreover, owing to bad management, such profits as it made were now largely engrossed by individuals. It had done its feeble best in recent years to get boundaries settled for New Netherland; it had sent out some munitions of war and, in successive small detachments, about two hundred and fifty soldiers; and in 1661 with the backing of the government it made an effort to populate the districts between the North and South rivers, the States General widely publishing an invitation to 'all Christian people of tender conscience in England or elsewhere oppressed' and the Company promising on easy terms large holdings of land and large powers of local self-government. Such emigrants as took advantage of these offers, however, settled north of the Raritan River. In 1663 the discouraged Company resigned the whole of the South River region to the city of Amsterdam which had already secured a part of it, and thereafter Governor Stuyvesant had little concern with it.

In June of the year 1661 Connecticut Colony sent its governor, John Winthrop, on a mission to King Charles. Winthrop asked Stuyvesant's leave to take ship at the Manhattans, writing:

> It is really no small motive that inclines my thought that way that I might thereby have the opportunity to wait upon your Honour, having hitherto been disappointed of the happiness of such a visit. . . .

Stuyvesant answered cordially, recommending a Dutch vessel the master of which spoke English and would delay his departure for a week if Stuyvesant would detain the other ships that were ready to sail, as the governor was very

willing to do. When Winthrop, accompanied by his two sons, reached New Amsterdam Stuyvesant received him with all possible honor, calling out the burgher guard to serve as his escort. Toward the end of July he set sail for Holland. Probably he had not tried to increase the happiness of his visit by speaking in detail to the Dutch governor of the instructions he carried. Given him by the general court of Connecticut they directed him to get for the colony if possible a copy of the Say and Sele patent or, if this was not possible, to try to get from the king a new patent which would be as liberal as that of Massachusetts Bay and would extend the borders of Connecticut eastward to the line of Plymouth Colony 'and westward to the Bay of Delloway if it may be' with all adjacent islands not yet granted 'to any other.' Thus Connecticut hoped to annex Rhode Island and Providence Plantations on the one hand and on the other New Haven Colony and the whole of New Netherland south of the Massachusetts line except the western bank of the Delaware. And the last clause in Winthrop's instructions read:

> Respecting the Dutch we desire that his Majesty may be informed of their settling upon the main, and still encroaching upon the English.

Besides these instructions for himself and a petition to the king, Winthrop also carried a letter from Connecticut to Lord Say and Sele begging for his assistance, confessing that the colony had as yet 'not so much as a copy of a patent,' and referring to the New Netherlanders as 'our noxious neighbors.'

From this special source Stuyvesant undoubtedly foresaw no danger although in general he was less optimistic than the West India Company which wrote him that the many 'scattered reports' about English schemes were only 'ruses to make our people uneasy.' But in April, 1662, Winthrop secured the charter for Connecticut. It did not confirm the so-called 'Old Patent' but merely said that the petitioners had acquired their lands by purchase and conquest and

referred in a vague fashion to 'those under whom they claim.' Yet it largely satisfied their desires, confirming their system of government and extending their boundaries from Narragansett Bay to the western ocean and from the Massachusetts line southward to the sea 'with all the islands there adjoining' — making Connecticut, therefore, practically independent of the mother-country and giving it New Haven Colony, much of the mainland of New Netherland, the island of Manhattan, Staten Island, and, in spite of Lord Stirling's reiterated claims, the whole of Long Island.

This charter, so republican in form and in fact that it survived until 1818 as the constitution of the State of Connecticut, was proclaimed at Hartford in October. Loud and angry was the outcry at New Haven. And great was the concern in New Netherland, for the eastern parts of Long Island, some of which had been loosely connected with Connecticut or New Haven, now formally gave in their allegiance to Connecticut, Southold appointed Captain John Young as its representative at Hartford, and Young wrote to a friend at Flushing that the whole island belonged to Connecticut and all its people should take oath accordingly.

Stuyvesant sent a protesting letter to Hartford by the hands of his brother-in-law Nicholas Varleth. The action of Young, he said, was an 'absolute breach and nullification' of the Hartford Treaty of 1650 and therefore gave New Netherland the right to reclaim all its former possessions between Greenwich and the Fresh River. In reply the Connecticut authorities desired him not to molest any one within their borders which, they said, included Westchester, ignoring the fact that Pell's settlers had recognized Stuyvesant's authority. Moreover, they despatched three commissioners, one of whom was Young, to direct all the towns on Long Island to send delegates to the next assembly at Hartford. All the English towns in the western as well as in the eastern parts of the island thereupon appointed persons to aid these envoys in administering the oath, Gravesend selecting James Hubbard whom Stuyvesant had released from jail in 1656

on his promise of good behavior. The conduct of Connecticut, Stuyvesant now declared, was 'unrighteous, stubborn, impudent, and pertinacious,' and the Long Island English, those who had praised him and his government so cordially a dozen years before, were 'New Netherland's most bitter enemies.'

During these troubles, which to an intelligent eye must have made manifest that the days of New Netherland were numbered, Indian troubles also afflicted the province. The tribes near Manhattan were restless, now and again the Long Island savages murdered a farmer, and twice there were dangerous outbreaks in the Esopus region.

By 1658 seventy or eighty persons had returned to the farm lands of this region whence they had been swept by the uprising of the River Indians in 1655. Settling again at a distance from each other and trading their guns and liquor for furs, they were soon again in peril and calling upon the governor for aid. Twice before the end of the year he went up the river with a small force, overawed and conciliated the savages, persuaded the farmers to gather together in a palisaded village, and erected a blockhouse which he garrisoned with fifty soldiers under command of Ensign Dirck Smit. In the following summer against the orders of Smit some of the soldiers fired upon a carousing party of Indians, foolishly suspecting that they meant mischief. The tribe declared war, massacred or captured a number of the settlers, and held the others besieged for three weeks in the stockade but dispersed before Stuyvesant arrived with reënforcements. Early in the year 1660 the governor proposed to take the aggressive 'to vindicate the honor of the downfallen Batavian reputation.' Cooler spirits counselled delay until an adequate force could be collected. With the Indians near Manhattan new treaties were soon concluded and in July, after some desultory fighting had discouraged the 'Esopus nation,' with this tribe also and with the Mohawks and Mohegans farther up the river.

Meanwhile Stuyvesant had withdrawn the Esopus district from the control of the court at Fort Orange and bestowed a charter on the little palisaded town called Wiltwyck which stood at the mouth of the Wallkill, a tidal branch of the Hudson — the town, afterwards called Kingston, where in 1777 the first constitution of the State of New York was framed. Rondout, Kingston's twin sister, inherits its name from a Dutch *rondhuis* or blockhouse.

At this time a westward movement from Fort Orange began, the government permitting Arendt Van Corlaer and some of his friends to buy of the Indians the 'great flats' between that place and the Mohawk country, and in 1662 giving a patent for them. Two years later the lands were surveyed and laid out and the village called Corlaer or Schenectady was founded about twenty miles northwest of Fort Orange.

Some months after quiet was restored at Esopus the West India Company ordered Stuyvesant to discharge most of the soldiers it had sent him, saying that New Netherland ought to be able, like Canada and New England, to provide for its own defence. The French and English colonies, Stuyvesant answered, were 'their own masters in this country,' electing their leaders and 'settling their taxes,' and their people were subject to impressment as they had been in Europe. People from Holland where impressing was not allowed could not be expected to submit to it in a colony which, as they had recently declared again, the Company had pledged itself to support in return for the taxes it imposed. Also, in the French and English colonies the population was homogeneous while New Netherland was

> . . . only gradually and slowly peopled by the scrapings of all sorts of nationalities (few excepted) who consequently have the least interest in the welfare and maintenance of the commonwealth.

The dreadful Indian raid of 1655, the governor explained, might have been prevented if he could have left only two or three score 'enlisted soldiers' in Fort Amsterdam when he

went against the Swedes on the South River. To dismiss such supporters now would be to invite another 'unexpected mishap,' for experience had shown that 'no or at least very few fighting men could be enlisted in an emergency.'

There was some truth in this but it did not mean that the New Netherlanders were cowardly; and there seems to have been no truth in the statement that the 'scrapings' of other nationalities, Englishmen of course excepted, felt less concern for the common welfare than the Dutch settlers. Undoubtedly, as Stuyvesant also affirmed, his burghers even when under arms sometimes fell into foolish panics, as is apt to be the way with unseasoned levies. When the danger was real they appear to have fought well, and the frontier folk valiantly defended their homes and families. Every one, however, in the little city on Manhattan as well as in the open country recognized that service at a distance meant risk to those whom he left at home. The cry for help that came down from Esopus came at the time when Maryland was threatening the South River country. All the soldiers of the garrison except six or seven invalids had been sent there with Martin Cregier, and an epidemic of fever was raging on Manhattan. When Stuyvesant called for volunteers to go up to Esopus 'on monthly wages' or 'for plunder,' he got only forty in New Amsterdam and twenty-five Englishmen from Long Island, but the burgher guard of the city quietly submitted to a draft of a hundred more. Those who were drawn, the governor told them, might procure substitutes if they were 'weak hearted or discouraged' and would say so at once, but 'a sense of honor and shame compelled all to be silent.'

In spite of his explanatory pleadings with the West India Company Stuyvesant was forced in 1661 to discharge so many of his soldiers that only a hundred and twenty-five 'military persons' remained scattered through the province, eighty or ninety of them garrisoning Fort Amsterdam but likely at any moment to be greatly needed elsewhere. Hardly any of the discharged soldiers remained in the province for

they knew how to earn their bread by military service only. One, however, who did remain prospered greatly and in later years was for a time the dominant figure in New York. This was a German, Jacob Leisler, whose name stands on the list of the soldiers arriving in 1660 as 'Jacob Leysseler of Francfort.'

Unsuccessfully Stuyvesant tried to enlist Swedes and Finns on the South River and Englishmen in Virginia for service at Esopus. With horses from Curaçoa he organized a little troop of cavalry which, he hoped, would keep Long Island and Manhattan 'free from Indians.' The burgher guard of New Amsterdam consisted at this time of three companies each of which elected its own officers and had its own standard and drummers.

Twenty years of conflict with the other branches of the Iroquois race and of frequent forays on the French settlements had so reduced the Five Nations that by 1660 they could count no more than 2200 braves, many of them adopted from conquered tribes; yet the spirit and the power of the confederacy were as great as ever, and, had its friendship failed, New Netherland would indeed have been in serious peril. Distressed though Stuyvesant was for fighting men he rejected the suggestion of the West India Company that he should employ the Mohawks as active allies. Such 'vainglorious, proud, and bold' warriors, he said, ought not to be permitted to believe that the Dutch needed their help; it was safer for these to stand on their own feet merely asking the Mohawks to act as arbitrators. He did his best to keep them loyal, going several times to Fort Orange and in 1660 summoning a great council at which sachems from the distant region called Niagara appeared with those of all the Five Nations. A still stronger influence was the confidence of the Mohawks in the leading men of Rensselaerswyck, chief among them Arendt Van Corlaer, Philip Pietersen Schuyler, and Jeremias Van Rensselaer who in 1658 succeeded his brother Jan Baptist as director of the patroonship. Fortunately the long quarrel between the officials of the patroon and of the

Company was now at an end. Jeremias Van Rensselaer agreed to make an annual payment of 300 *schepels* of wheat in commutation of tithes, and thereafter all laws and regulations issued in his colony were submitted for confirmation to the governor and council on Manhattan.

Although the Dutch authorities often tried to keep the Indians of New Netherland from attacking those on the borders of New England, during the summer of 1662 the Mohawks fell upon the tribes in the far-off Penobscot region, raiding also the English settlements. Then the governor of Nova Scotia accompanied by three delegates from Boston came to Manhattan to beg for aid; and in September, just when Connecticut had received the charter by which the king of England conferred upon it the greater part of New Netherland, Governor Stuyvesant went with these Englishmen up to Fort Orange and arranged for them a partial accommodation with his savage allies.

As settlers increased in the neighborhood of Wiltwyck Stuyvesant established another village there. The mere growth in numbers of the white men irritated the Indians, but it was partly the fault of the governor himself that they rose again more murderously than before. Prudent and patient though he usually was where savages were concerned, he sent some of those whom he captured in 1660 to be worked as slaves in Curaçoa. This their brethren could not forget or forgive, and in June, 1663, in an unexpected onslaught they killed or captured seventy of the Dutch. Stuyvesant now offered bounties to volunteers, exemption from taxes for six years, and large pensions in case of disablement. Thus he collected a considerable force of Dutchmen and 'scrapings'; only half-a-dozen Englishmen enlisted although he had appealed to them with a special offer of 'free plunder' and, in spite of the Dutch dislike to the enslavement of red men, 'all the savages whom they could capture.' A journal kept with much detail by Martin Cregier shows how he led this force through a difficult forest campaign and in the end almost annihilated the 'Esopus nation.'

At the opening of this year 1663 Governor Stuyvesant had written home that according to the words of the English 'not a foot of land' was left to the Dutch, Massachusetts claiming Fort Orange and the region around it, Connecticut all the rest down to Maryland and Virginia. Now or not at all boundary lines positively must be settled. In April the Company wrote him that although things looked dangerous in America no attacks need be expected from a nation at peace with Holland, yet advised him to fortify the entrance to his harbor.

New Netherland, Connecticut, and also New Haven which was still crying out against the 'great sin' of Connecticut in trying to absorb it, were all endeavoring to assert authority over the English settlement at Westchester. In July Stuyvesant called a convention to engage the five Dutch towns which by this time he had established on Long Island to keep up an armed force. In September, having been instructed by the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber to 'explore' the mind of Governor Winthrop whom they had distrusted when he passed through Holland on his way to England, he sent him by the hands of Nicholas Varleth a letter written in somewhat imperfect English, probably by the governor's nephew Nicholas Bayard who had succeeded George Baxter as his English secretary. Denouncing the 'unlawful and therefore unsupportable proceedings' of Connecticut it said, nevertheless, that as 'peace, union, and neighborhood' ought to prevail 'between Christians in these wildernesses under so great multitude of barbarians Indians living,' the two colonies might settle their disputes themselves on the 'firm and standing bounds' established by the Hartford Treaty of 1650 and without troubling the authorities in Europe. Letters having no effect, however, in September Stuyvesant decided, although the second Esopus war was not yet at an end, that he must go to Boston to lay his case before the federal commissioners. Again he proposed to submit the dispute to an impartial committee of persons 'not concerned in either right' and to be chosen in equal numbers by both

parties. But by desire of the commissioners of Connecticut, one of these being Governor Winthrop who had sent his colony its charter by another hand but had more recently returned from England, it was decided that, as Connecticut had not expected to be asked now to present its case, the whole matter should be postponed until the next meeting of the board in the following year. Then both parties concerned might come 'with full power for determination thereof.' Meanwhile things were to remain 'according to the true intent and meaning' of the treaty of 1650, which the board held binding saving only the 'claim and just right' of his Majesty to the lands in controversy and the right of Connecticut by its 'charter and late grant from his Majesty.'

Naturally no Englishmen had enlisted for Cregier's Esopus expedition, for Long Island was now beyond the verge of revolt. When Stuyvesant got back from Boston he learned that Jamaica, Middleburg, and Hempstead had begged the rulers of Connecticut to cover them with 'the skirts of their government' as a protection in their 'bondage' to the Dutch. Carrying this prayer to Hartford, James Hubbard asked that soldiers might be sent to reduce the Dutch towns on the island. An armed force actually entered Midwout, and a violent and 'unreasonable' Englishman caused a 'great hubbub and fury' at Gravesend, for even in the English towns some of the inhabitants were Dutch. Again Stuyvesant appealed to Winthrop and his coadjutors at Hartford, sending this time as a formal embassy Secretary Van Ruyven, Oloff Stevensen who was now called Cortlandt or Van Cortlandt, and John Lawrence, an Englishman who had been one of the first patentees of Hempstead and of Flushing but had removed to Manhattan where he was long to play a prominent part in public affairs. The general court appointed a committee of three to treat with these envoys 'about the matters in a controversy between this corporation and the Dutch at Manhatoes.' Would Connecticut, the envoys asked, postpone all violation of the Hartford Treaty for a year as had been

decided by the federal commissioners at Boston? No, they were told; Connecticut would fear the king's displeasure if it did not regulate itself according to the patent he had given. After a supper at Governor Winthrop's, says their journal of the embassy, his Excellency

> . . . expressly declared that the intent of the patent was by no means to claim any right to New Netherland but that it only comprehended a tract of land in New England etc. We begged the favour of his Excellency to indulge us with such declaration in writing that we might avail ourselves of it, but he declined it saying that it was sufficiently plain from the patent itself. We said that a different construction was put upon it by others, and that such declaration would give much opening, but as we observed that the governor still abode by his first saying, after some more discourse we took leave.

With the committeemen the envoys could accomplish nothing. They would not consent on behalf of Connecticut that it should take Westchester and let New Netherland keep the western parts of Long Island. The Dutch, they said, had no rights at all except by virtue of the West India Company's charter, and this gave only trading rights. Connecticut, they insisted, stretched southward to Virginia, westward to the western ocean. Where then was New Netherland? the envoys asked them; and in words almost identical with Philip Calvert's they answered

> . . . without hesitation that they knew of no New Netherland unless we could show a patent for it from the king.

As for the Hartford Treaty they considered it 'absolutely as a nullity,' for now his Majesty had settled their limits for them.

In the meantime the general court had written to Stuyvesant that it would 'accept' Westchester, as the council of the colony had already done, and that all the land between that place and Stamford belonged to Connecticut. In reply to a petition from the English Long Islanders 'near the Dutch' it resolved that, as it wished to keep good correspondence with

'our neighbors of the Manhatoes,' it would for the present forbear to assert any authority over the western parts of the island provided the Dutch would likewise forbear 'to exercise any coercive power toward them.' Arrangements such as these Governor Stuyvesant did not yet feel compelled to sanction.

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CHAPTER XIII

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

1652–1664

(Governor Stuyvesant)

Dit is het Land, daar Melk en Honig vloeyd;
Dit is't geweest, daar't Kruyd (als dist'len) groeyd:
Dit is de Plaats, daar Aron's-Roede bloeyd,
Dit is het Eden.

This is the land where milk and honey flow,
Where healing plants as thick as thistles grow;
The place where flowers on Aaron's Rod do blow;
This, this is Eden.

— Jacob Steendam: *'T Lof van Nuw-Nederland* (*Praise of New Netherland*). *1661.*

Hampered, distressed, and threatened though it was, New Netherland thrived during the latter part of Stuyvesant's administration. Between 1647 and 1652, while the people were struggling for a measure of self-government, no new bouwerie, it was said, was planted on Manhattan; but energy revived with the grant of municipal privileges, the relaxation of monopolies, and the impulse to emigration given in Holland by the efforts of Van der Donck and the activity of the printing press.

The city began modestly to deserve its name. In 1656, when the first survey and 'plot map' of it were made by Captain De Coninck, a ship-master in the employ of the West India Company, it contained one hundred and twenty houses. In 1660 another survey, made by order of the city magistrates

by Jacques Cortelyou who had been a tutor in Van Werckhoven's family and was now the surveyor for the government, showed three hundred and forty-two houses with fifteen hundred persons living below the transinsular wall. In the New York Public Library there is a manuscript list of these houses in the handwriting of Nicasius De Sille, and with it a list of the various 'places' in the province — fortresses, towns, and separate 'colonies,' twenty-one in all. Stuyvesant sent Cortelyou's map to the Company, writing:

> . . . in case you should be inclined to have it engraved and published we thought it advisable to send you also a small sketch of the city, drawn in perspective by Sieur Augustine Heerman three or four years ago; or perhaps you will hang it up in some place or other there.

Neither of these early maps, it seems, was published. But Herrman's drawing was probably the original sketch for that view of New Amsterdam, known as the second, which was first printed as an adjunct to the Visscher and Van der Donck maps.

At this time the province was thought to contain ten thousand inhabitants, six or seven thousand of them Dutch. The number was not large compared with the seventy-five or eighty thousand considered a low estimate for the English colonies in 1660, yet it shows that by continued immigration and the prolific increase of the early settlers the population had quintupled since the departure of Governor Kieft thirteen years before. In Canada less than six thousand people were counted in 1662.

In 1661 Director Stuyvesant had bought from the West India Company for 6400 guilders one of its bouweries and there built for himself a large country house. As extended by his immediate descendants the property stretched, to use modern terms, from Fifth to Seventeenth Streets and from the East River westward to an irregular line running near Fourth Avenue. After the Indian raid of 1655, when the governor seriously addressed himself to the work of concentrating the scattered settlers, he gathered a number who

lived north of the Kalck Hoek Pond into a hamlet on the borders of his farm. It was called simply the *Bouwerij*. The street now called the Bowery was part of the Bowery Road which led from New Amsterdam to the village, much of the way through a dense forest. At his own expense Stuyvesant built a chapel for the villagers on the site where St.-Mark's-in-the-Bowery now stands, near the Cooper Institute.

In 1658, for the 'promotion of agriculture' and the 'further relief and expansion' of the City of New Amsterdam, the government founded a 'new village or settlement at the end of the island,' on the fertile flatlands where Kuyter and the De Forests had laid out the farms that were afterwards ruined by the Indian raiders, calling it *Nieu Haerlem* and two years later giving it a town charter which established an 'inferior court of justice.' In 1661 Nieu Haerlem, the Harlem of later days, contained thirty-two male inhabitants, one-half of them Frenchmen or Walloons, and had a clergyman of its own. Among the names of its early settlers are some that are still prominent on Manhattan — La Montagne, Tourneur, Le Roy, Brevoort, Bogert, Waldron, Demarest, and Kortright. It was laid out to the east and southeast of the present Mt. Morris Park, the village green lying along the water-front at the foot of the Pleasant Avenue and 124th Street of to-day, and two parallel streets running diagonally westward almost to Third Avenue. Besides a lot in the stockaded village each settler received a farming tract and a stretch of salt meadow, the Dutchmen like the early New Englanders considering salt hay indispensable for their cattle as a preventive of ills produced by the New World climate. A map of the year 1807 shows that the Dutch spelling of the name of the village had not then been abandoned.

In 1656 a party of Englishmen received a charter of the Dutch pattern for the place called *Rustdorp* (Village of Rest) which was also known as Jamaica, a name derived in this instance from the Indian name, meaning beaver, of a neighboring pond. 'The beaver-pond commonly called Jemaco,'

says an entry in the local records. In 1660 Stuyvesant superintended in person the laying out of a town called *Boswyck* (Bushwick) for a newly arrived party of Frenchmen some of whom soon removed to Flushing where they started the horticultural industries for which the place is still noted. Van Werckhoven had abandoned his colonies at Navesink and Tappaen to establish another on Long Island but came into conflict there with a party of settlers who seem to have been established by Van der Capellen, Cornelis Melyn's associate in his Staten Island patroonship, and returned to Holland leaving his lands in charge of Jacques Cortelyou who founded a village which he called *Nieu Utrecht* in honor of his patron's birthplace. Both these new towns received charters, and thereafter Breuckelen, New Utrecht, Amersfoort (Flatlands), Midwout (Flatbush), and Boswyck were called the Five Dutch Towns to distinguish them from their English neighbors Newtown (Middelburg), Hempstead, Flushing, Gravesend, and Jamaica. It was not only to secure by concentration the safety of the farmers, it was also to offset the influence of the insubordinate English settlements, that Stuyvesant established the Dutch towns in this Long Island region. Each of them had its own board of *schepens* to manage its own special affairs but all were under a single *schout* who presided over their district court. In all the towns the tax of tenths of the produce of the land appears to have been paid not by individuals but by the town as such. Flushing, for example, paid in 1655 fifty *schepels* of peas and twenty-five of wheat. It is shown by Stuyvesant's reply to some inquiring New Englanders that any one, meaning apparently any one from outside the province, wishing to settle in a town had to secure the approval of the governor in council and to take the oath of fidelity.

The first Dutch church on Long Island was organized at Midwout in 1654 with Domine Polhemus, who had been a missionary in Brazil, as its pastor. In 1660 Domine Henricus Selyns was installed as the pastor of Breuckelen which then contained one hundred and thirty-four people — thirty-one

families. Half his salary was guaranteed in Holland. Stuyvesant soon contributed 250 guilders a year on condition that he would come over to preach at the Bowery village on Sunday afternoons. The church in which he ministered at Breuckelen was placed, as often in Dutch towns, in the middle of the village street, now Fulton Street, and stood for a hundred years.

In 1660 Jacques Cortelyou laid out a stockaded village named Bergen on the bluff 'on the west side of the North River in Pavonia' where the Indians had wrought ruin five years before. In 1661 it received a town charter establishing a local court, and set up a public school. A licensed ferry ran from Communipau, a little south of the town, to Manhattan. In 1662 a church was built. Thus the first town within the present borders of New Jersey was organized. Upon its lands Bayonne, Jersey City, Hoboken, and Weehawken eventually grew up. It was incorporated as a city in 1868; and, although it was absorbed in 1872 by its younger but larger neighbor Jersey City, its original plan has never been obliterated. The stockade formed a square, now defined by portions of Tuers and Idaho Avenues, Newkirk and Vroom Streets, each side of which measured eight hundred feet. In the centre of each side was a gate, and the cross streets, now called Bergen Avenue and Academy Street, which ran between the gates broadened at their intersection into a small central place, now Bergen Square. The settlers lived within the walls and there collected their cattle at night, while their farms, called 'outside gardens,' extended from it in four directions. These arrangements show how thoroughly the New Netherlanders had now learned the need to provide by concentration for their own defence. The Dutch towns on Long Island were similarly planned. In some cases a blockhouse for refuge in case of Indian attacks stood in the central square.

In 1657 Cornelis Melyn, who had found his colony on Staten Island ruined for the second time when he escaped from his Indian captors after the raid of 1655, moved to New Haven

where he and his son Jacob took the oath of allegiance. In 1659, being then in Holland, he made a bargain about his patroonship with the West India Company, and soon afterwards the Company bought out the interest of his partner, Van der Capellen, who had recently died. A copy of the agreement between Melyn and the Amsterdam Chamber, dated June 13, 1659, and now owned by the New York Historical Society, shows that Melyn made over to the Chamber the rights in government, privileges, prerogatives, exemptions, and so forth which 'in quality of patroon' he had held since he received his patent from Governor Kieft, and that the Chamber promised to pay him 1500 guilders and to restore the moneys received for certain houses in New Amsterdam which Stuyvesant had sold to satisfy a judgment against him. For the future he was to live in New Netherland as a 'free colonist.' And the Company ordered that Director Stuyvesant should show and maintain toward him full 'amnesty of all strifes, hatreds, and differences' which had existed between them in public or private affairs, and that 'for the future they be good friends.'

From other papers in the same collection and from Stuyvesant's correspondence with the West India Company it appears that Melyn understood the agreement to mean that he surrendered only his rights and privileges as patroon, not his lands on Staten Island, while the Company understood that he surrendered everything. As he had already removed to New Haven he made no attempt to utilize the lands again. From time to time the provincial government granted portions of them to other persons, notably to Huguenots recently come from Rochelle, and in 1664 it set up for the island an inferior court. Often in after years, however, Cornelis Melyn's heirs tried to regain possession of his property.

By 1658 there were so many Frenchmen, Walloons, and Waldenses in the province that official edicts were put forth in French as well as in Dutch and English. But, willing as the New Netherlanders were to welcome an immigrant of

any kin or kind who came to throw in his lot with their own, their hatred for the roving trader steadily deepened — their jealousy of the so-called 'Scotch factors and merchants' who came to 'skim the fat' of the fur trade and then to sail away again. Finally they dealt with the trouble according to the precedents of the fatherland: the city magistrates petitioned for the establishment of the *borger-recht* (burgher-right) which was considered 'one of the most important privileges of a well-governed city,' and the governor and council authorized its establishment by virtue of the 'advice and instructions' received three years before from the West India Company, when it reproved Stuyvesant for restricting trade to residents of three years' standing but advised him to restrict it to such persons as would keep an 'open store' in the city.

In the cities of Holland the institution of *borger-recht,* also called *poorter-recht* from *poort,* a gate, had existed for generations upon a democratic basis. But at Amsterdam it had been modified in 1652 by a separation into a *groote* (great) and a *kleijne* (small) *borger-recht;* and in this new-fangled form the magistrates of New Amsterdam established it in April, 1657, by order of the governor in council. They themselves, it may be gathered from the words of the ordinance, had asked for the privilege in no such two-fold shape.

The ordinance, issued in February, said that the provincial government did 'invest, qualify, and favor' with the Great Burgher-Right all its own members, all 'former and actual' magistrates of the city, all its clergymen and militia officers, and the male descendants of all such persons, and with the Small Burgher-Right all persons born in the city, all who had lived there for at least a year and six weeks before the date of the ordinance, and all who had married the native-born daughters of burghers. Other persons, if the magistrates approved of them, could buy the greater right for fifty guilders, the smaller for twenty. Both titles conferred the same commercial privileges: no burgher could have his goods attached for debt, and only burghers could engage in trade

or exercise a handicraft or profession within the city limits, the sole exceptions being employees of the West India Company and persons briefly tarrying in the city on their way to settle elsewhere in the province. Great Burghers were furthermore exempt from arrest upon the order of an inferior court, and to them alone was reserved the right to hold important offices. The money paid by those who bought the rights and the small fees paid for registration by those who did not need to buy them were to pass into the city treasury, to be spent 'principally in the strengthening and circumvallation' of the city. Every burgher had to take a special oath of fidelity to the States General, the West India Company, and the 'burgomasters and rulers' of the city. A burgher forfeited all his rights if he failed to 'keep fire and light' — that is, a residence — inside the city's 'gates and walls.'

The ordinance which permitted the establishment of burgher-right in New Amsterdam is not usually numbered among the charters of the city. But the convention elected in 1829 to revise the then-existing municipal charter called Stuyvesant's ordinance the 'original charter of this city'; and Chancellor Kent also considered it 'a charter' although 'a very limited and imperfect grant.'

When it was published by proclamation only twenty persons claimed or bought the Great Burgher-Right. They included, with a few whose names are less well remembered, General Stuyvesant, Domine Megapolensis and his son, three members of the Kip family, three of the Van Brugh family, two Van Couwenhovens, Hendrick Van Dyck, Martin Cregier, Jan Vinje, and one woman — Ragel (Rachel) Van Tienhoven, the widow or deserted wife of Cornelis Van Tienhoven and the sister of Vinje. This list received few additions. But at once about two hundred persons, including two or three women and three or four Englishmen, enrolled themselves as Small Burghers, and their number continued to increase.

In 1658, yielding at last to the reiterated demands of the city magistrates, Stuyvesant allowed them to nominate their

own successors. Two years later the offices of city and provincial *schout* were separated and Peter Tonneman, a member of the governor's council, became the first city sheriff properly so called. He was appointed by the West India Company, not by the magistrates as should have been their right. Nevertheless the people of New Amsterdam now had a burgher government which really resembled the 'laudable governments' of its fatherland.

These, wrested in early times from the feudal aristocracy, established in democratic shapes, and then modified in the direction of oligarchy by the influence of a later-born burgher aristocracy and of powerful guilds, differed greatly among themselves. Broadly speaking, however, they were all close corporations. The voice of the people as such was not officially recognized in Holland — only the voice of numerous self-perpetuating local magistracies. Yet as the members of these corporations were drawn from the body of the people, were subject like every one else to taxation, assumed no pomp or state, and formed no distinct caste or class, the people regarded them as truly their representatives, their fathers, protectors, and spokesmen. Moreover, they were always, as has been said, under the control of a public opinion free to speak and to print what it chose. John Underhill explained, when the magistrates of Massachusetts were trying to suppress liberty of speech, that while he was in the Low Countries he had always spoken his mind freely, even to 'Count Nassau'; and Sir William Temple, who served Charles II as ambassador at the Hague, found that the people exercised a 'strange freedom' in speaking 'openly whatever they thought upon all public affairs' in all kinds of places. Nor did they speak in vain. Public opinion, which has been defined as indirect government by numbers, was very powerful in the Dutch Republic although democratic government, which is direct government by numbers, did not exist there. And such was the case in the Dutch city on Manhattan.

In selecting the new members of the city corporation each existing member put a double number of names in nomina-

tion; and according to the pluralities thus determined the double list was drawn up which was submitted to the governor in council for a final choice. At once the corporation incurred Stuyvesant's displeasure by saying that no employee of the Company should be eligible; and at once he had to increase by fiat the scanty list of Great Burghers so that all the magistrates might belong to that class. In spite of his efforts, however, and in spite of the low price at which the Great Burgher-Right could be bought, the distinction between the two classes soon lapsed out of mind. Even in the elder Amsterdam it was abolished after existing for about twelve years.

As thus reduced almost immediately to a democratic basis and modified, of course, at various later times, the burgher-right granted to the citizens of New Amsterdam in 1657 survived in New York until the year 1815. Narrowly monopolistic though the arrangement may now appear, its establishment was always looked back upon as the foundation for the prosperity of Manhattan and, indeed, of the province at large. Inspiring and enriching the traders of the capital it directly encouraged the shipping industries from which every one else drew benefit; indirectly it stimulated agriculture; and it made the capital more and more the recognized central mart for the products of all parts of the province as well as for imported commodities. It did not lead to the organization of trade and artisan guilds like those of Europe.

The two burgomasters of New Amsterdam transacted all the executive and financial business of the city corporation. Each was on duty at the Stadt Huis every other day, and four times a year each made a report to his associate and their predecessors — the 'old burgomasters' who, with the 'old *schepens*' seem to have formed a little *vroedschap* or municipal council after a pattern set, of course, in the fatherland. One burgomaster retired from office each year, then becoming the city treasurer. Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt was the first who held this post, taking office in 1657. Certain

fees reverted to the senior burgomaster, and he was called the president of the corporation; but the *schout* presided over its sessions, moved all questions, and collected the votes. The specified duties of the five *schepens* were simply judicial as they were in Holland.

Although the magistrates of the immature little city on Manhattan never acquired powers that corresponded with those of their prototypes in the commercial metropolis of Europe, from year to year their responsibilities and their influence increased. They held in trust all the property the city acquired, beginning with its Stadt Huis; they kept its seal, farmed out the excise, imposed special taxes, and assisted in the enactment of laws and the control of the militia. It has already been shown that they sometimes summoned popular meetings. The governor consulted them about provincial as well as municipal affairs, seating them, for instance, with his own official coadjutors and the chief militia officers in the councils of war he called whenever danger threatened, and toward the end of his administration taking no important step without their concurrence.

No code of laws was ever drawn up for New Netherland. The governor's court administered the Roman-Dutch law of Holland, directly if it fitted the needs of the moment or through special ordinances which the West India Company afterwards confirmed or vetoed; and in 1659 the Company sent out for the guidance of the city court twelve copies of a little book called *Ordinances and Code of Procedure before the Courts of the City of Amsterdam.*

To the city court the governor's court gradually transferred a great part of its business, civil and criminal. The labors of the lower tribunal were largely those of arbitration yet it elaborated a regular system of pleading by declaration, plea, and rejoinder, and a well-organized method of examining witnesses present and absent. If its members felt competent they acted as arbitrators — as when, say their minutes, they crossed the street to test Jacobus Van Couwenhoven's beer and the complaints that had been lodged against it. If the

case was more complicated they selected reputable citizens to pass upon it, and once in a while these were 'good women.' An appeal from the decisions of the city court was rarely taken although permitted in cases involving more than fifty guilders. Admiralty jurisdiction was also exercised by this court.

One of the first acts of the magistrates had been to name four persons from whom the governor, they asked, should appoint two to serve as orphan-masters. Stuyvesant said that such officials were not needed in so small a city; the deacons of the church, who had hitherto served under the supervision of the director and council, could still 'keep their eyes open and look as orphan-masters after widows and children.' But when the magistrates twice renewed their request, after the Indian raid of 1655 had greatly increased the number of unprotected children, a special orphans' court was created much like the surrogate's court of to-day. According to Roman-Dutch law no one who could benefit by the death of a child, not even a parent, was ever intrusted with the control of its property.

Wills were made orally or in writing before two members of any local court or before a notary and two witnesses, the notary's notes being sworn to and signed by the testator. Proof was not necessary for probate. Marriages were strictly regulated. They could not be performed until the bans had been three times published, and in 1654 it was ordered that this must be done in the place where the contracting parties actually lived. An ordinance of 1658 says that the director-general and council not only were informed but had themselves 'seen and remarked' that some persons after the third publication of the bans did not 'proceed further with the solemnization of their marriage' but postponed it for weeks or even months, and that, as 'mischiefs and irregularities' surely flowed from such transgressions of the customs of the fatherland, all marriages must be solemnized within one month of the last proclamation of the bans under penalty of ten guilders for the first week of delay and twenty guilders for

each succeeding week unless good reason were shown. Nor, under much heavier penalties, should any man and woman 'keep house as married persons' until they were lawfully married.

According to Dutch custom all court officials took as much care for the interests of defendants as of plaintiffs. No lawyers practised in any court, but evidently the notaries of New Amsterdam were active, for more than one of them was punished for drawing up papers carelessly or for abusing the magistrates to their faces. The fees of the high constable, whose chief duty was 'to execute judgments in civil cases,' were carefully fixed when the first incumbent was appointed in 1655, and those of all minor officials, like secretaries and notaries, were settled in 1658 with the provision that the wealthy should pay them but that the poor should be served 'gratis for God's sake.' Court fines were distributed one-third to the officer, one-third to the city, and one-third between the church and the poor.

The business of the West India Company and of the province at large was carried on, under the governor, council, and *schout-fiscal*, by a receiver-general and collector of customs (who after 1658 formed with the governor and two councillors a board of audit), and by a little regiment of commissaries, bookkeepers, clerks, inspectors, surveyors, and Indian interpreters. From time to time the provincial or the city government appointed other petty officials for temporary service. Plural office-holding was lawful. One or two instances of malversation in office are recorded.

In New Amsterdam there were overseers of the negroes, the coopers, the carpenters, the masons, and the smiths in the Company's employ. There were inspectors of tobacco, of bread, and of weights and measures; sworn butchers, twelve of them in 1660, to whom all persons whose cattle they slaughtered paid fees; a jailer, a court messenger, and a town crier; fire wardens, a ferry-master, a vendue-master or auctioneer, 'roy-masters' who laid out the streets, and tally-

masters for the bricks imported from Holland or sent down from Fort Orange; measurers for the apples and onions brought into market, and for grain, lime, and 'whatever is measured by *schepels* or barrels'; branders of beer-barrels, and licensed 'beer carriers' and porters.

An instance of the way in which public opinion controlled local affairs occurred in 1654. Wishing to establish a 'rattle watch' the magistrates summoned all citizens so disposed to attend at the Stadt Huis to pass judgment on their scheme. No citizen appeared, so the matter was dropped until 1658 when eight watchmen were appointed, four to make the rounds each night crying out the hours. The fire wardens were then ordered to deposit at various points in the city a hundred and fifty leathern fire-buckets. Citizens were fined who failed to respond when a fire was discovered and the cry *Val! Val!* (Accident!) rang out. No police force existed. The *schout* and his deputy and the two court messengers, armed with swords, sufficed to protect the peaceful and to deal with the vicious.

In 1660 a post-office service was established for transatlantic letters only, the West India Company then ordering, with more definiteness than before, that all letters should be deposited in a box in the secretary's office and transmitted in a sealed bag. A fee of three stivers in wampum was charged if the sender wished for registration and a receipt.

The plague, still sorely dreaded even in the western parts of Europe, never visited the American colonies. Malaria seems to have prevailed on and near Manhattan; but in spite of this and of epidemics, sometimes very severe, of dysentery, influenza, and smallpox, Van der Donck's *Description* declares that 'Galens had meagre soup' in the fine climate of New Netherland. In 1652 the Galens of the city asked for and obtained the sole right to shave their fellow-citizens 'for gain.'

Temple wrote of the 'admirable provision' made in Holland for all classes of people who needed public aid or attention; and the famous economist Sir Josiah Child ranked it among

the causes of the economic and commercial preëminence of the Dutch. In fact, Holland led the modern world in its endeavors to care for the afflicted and to utilize the indigent; and its American colonials, despite their constant cry that the West India Company did not keep its pledge to set up charitable institutions, took laudable steps in this direction.

Up to the year 1658 soldiers who fell ill were billeted on private families. Then, on petition of Dr. Jacob Varrevanger, or Varvanger, a little hospital was opened in a house with 'clean rooms and fires of wood' for the benefit of sick soldiers and employees of the Company, and was placed in charge of a matron. Hospitals had by this time been established in Canada but none, apparently, in the English colonies. The first recorded coroner's inquest in New Amsterdam was conducted in 1658 by Kierstede, Varrevanger, and another physician. The poor of Manhattan were supported by a special tax of the twentieth penny on houses, the tenth on cultivated lands. A 'deacon's house' with 'nurses' served as an almshouse and appears to have been in use some years before 1660 when the first public almshouse in Boston was opened, for in 1655 the government granted land on Long Island for a 'poor farm' where food for its wards could be grown. A midwife, paid from the public purse, worked among the poor in their homes. The first general poor law, enacted in 1661, prescribed how each town and village in the province should raise and administer a poor fund, and said that no relief would be given at New Amsterdam to strangers unprovided with certificates from the deacons or overseers of the places whence they came.

As regarded internal affairs New Netherland's days of storm and stress were over. External dangers had drawn the governor and his burghers together. He had learned that they could not be governed like a garrison of soldiers, and they had been pacified if not satisfied by their victory in the matter of municipal government. Nevertheless, all was not peace between them. Although the West India Company

said in 1660 that its province, which thus far had cost it one million guilders, was now in a position to support itself, Stuyvesant constantly complained of the emptiness of his official chest, and his people of the methods that he employed to fill it. For example, when the Company changed the export charge upon furs from a specific duty to an *ad valorem* duty of eight per cent he added a charge of four stivers upon each skin; and in 1654 he changed the one per cent staple-right charge upon all imports, which, he said, had proved impossible to collect, to a much higher specific duty upon liquors, salt, and all articles imported for the Indian trade.

The provincial and the city governments were reciprocally jealous of their illy defined spheres of authority. As in the beginning so in later years questions of taxation were hotly debated between them. The governor exasperated the city fathers by his domineering words and ways, and they sometimes threw him into a violent passion by failing to keep the promises they had made him — once, by offering to do without their salaries, which were fixed in 1654 at 350 guilders a year for the burgomasters and 250 for the *schepens*, and then very soon asking from what source they could obtain them so that they might 'be prompted' to acquit themselves of their duties with 'alacrity and vigor.' On the other hand, in 1657 the city court discussed how Burgomasters Allard Anthony and Oloff Stevensen might be recouped for their disbursement for the public service of 'considerable of their private funds.'

Among some manuscript extracts from the accounts of New Netherland, dated between the years 1654 and 1660 and preserved in the Moore collection in the New York Public Library, is a tabulated list of the salaries paid to the higher officials. Governor Stuyvesant received 250 guilders a month and an annual allowance of 900 guilders for expenses — in all, 3900 guilders a year. His subordinates were paid in the same manner, the two chief councillors each receiving a total of 1800 guilders a year, the *schout-fiscal* 920 guilders, the secretary 632, the 'commissary and bookkeeper' 800, three

preachers 1400 each, and a precentor 620. With one or two minor salaries and two paid at Fort Orange the general total as given is 13,058 guilders a year, but the list does not mention the many lesser civil employees or the officers and men of the garrison.

In 1661 the provincial revenue amounted to 40,000 guilders; in 1662 when the expenses of the government exceeded 55,000, to no more than 33,600. Although the city government often declared itself penniless it must at the last have gathered an annual revenue of some 25,000 guilders. For a while nothing fell into its coffers regularly except the proceeds of the small or burghers' excise. As Holland taught England the utility of stamp taxes so, in 1654, the magistrates of New Amsterdam suggested the first of which America heard the name, asking from the Company permission to levy a new impost 'such as on stamped paper etc.' They did not get this permission; but when many of the people driven into the city by the Indian raid of 1655 desired to settle there, Stuyvesant granted the corporation certain lots on the west side of the Heere Weg (Broadway) which it sold to individuals. It was for this purpose that De Coninck's survey and map were made. In 1658 the city obtained the other 'unconceded' lots within its limits; apparently they were not many. In the same year the magistrates earnestly petitioned the West India Company for relief from its heavy customs dues. They then asked also for the rent of the Long Island ferry and for the fees collected at the Company's weigh-scales over which all merchandise brought into or carried out of the city had to pass. Stuyvesant reminded them that, besides the burghers' excise which had been farmed in 1657 for 4200 guilders and more recently for 3700, and besides the 6000 guilders just collected from the people for strengthening the fortifications, the city had received during the current year 1457 guilders from the tax on slaughtered cattle, four pounds Flemish for each tapster's license, all the fees for stamping weights and measures, all those paid by the citizens for the burgher-right, and a loan of 1000 guilders from the Company's purse toward

the cost of some recently accomplished work on the canal. Furthermore, the city had the right to collect fines from owners of land who had not improved their holdings, and to levy for the fire department one assessment of one beaver skin on each house and an annual tax of one guilder on each chimney. None the less, said the governor, to free the magistrates from debt he would give them one-fourth of the weigh-scale fees. If they wanted anything more, he added, they must get it from the commonalty; yet two years later, when they complained that the first debt contracted, in 1653, for the fortifications had not been discharged, he and the council agreed to assume certain claims amounting to almost 4000 guilders, and the Company paid sundry other obligations which it had expected the city to meet.

The work on the canal to which the governor referred and certain other public improvements were paid for by special assessments, a method of taxation familiar enough to-day but known at that period in none of the English colonies. Either the residents immediately concerned did the work under orders from the burgomasters, as was the case when in 1658 a *schoeynge* (a curtain of planks backed by a filling of earth) was built to protect Perel Straet on the East River shore; or, as was done in 1657 when the residents of Brower Straet near the fort asked that it might be paved, the burgomasters appointed commissioners to superintend the task and assessed the cost upon the abutting properties.

In 1658 the city paid for a wharf and dock at the entrance of the canal and in 1662 for a small breakwater to protect vessels against floating ice and for the extension toward the north of the canal itself. This was then flanked by a *schoeynge;* and thus transformed into a canal of the approved Dutch pattern the old ditch was called the *Heere Gracht* or *Heere Graft* (Grand Canal) in memory of the chief water highway of Amsterdam. But when the magistrates assessed the cost of its *schoeynge,* about 3000 guilders, upon the owners of the abutting property, twenty-one in number, they raised a great outcry, saying they had neither asked for the improve-

ment nor been warned that they would have to pay for it. Some of them refused to pay, one or two were imprisoned for their contumacy, and, as Stuyvesant set forth, the magistrates had to get aid from his official purse.

If the records of the West India Company had been preserved some comprehensive account of the commercial life of New Amsterdam might be written. As it is, only isolated items can be gathered. For example, a paper in the Moore collection says that the West India Company received in 1654 32,603 guilders in 'recognitions' and convoy charges on goods sent to the province by individual exporters on six ships, duly specified, and in 1655, six ships again being named, 22,973 guilders. From the Van Rensselaer papers it appears that the merchants had a mutual system of insuring ships and cargoes against loss and damage, using the printed forms employed for the same purpose in Holland. The local records tell that some thirty 'trading barks' plied on River Mauritius but do not say how many sea-going vessels were owned or partly owned at Manhattan. It is evident that the merchants quickly grasped new chances to extend their ocean and their coastwise trade. In 1658 the governor of Canada permitted them to traffic with the white men on the St. Lawrence although not with the Indians, and in 1659 the West India Company allowed them, on petition, to try 'the experiment' of direct trading upon their own account with the Caribbees, France, Spain, Italy, and other foreign places exclusive of the African and Oriental regions reserved to the ships of the East India Company. Peltry, it was decreed, must still be sent to Amsterdam only, and all return cargoes must be discharged either there or on Manhattan; yet the concession opened wide markets for New Netherland's inexhaustible stores of timber and its growing wealth in food-stuffs. A cargo of 'boards and other lumber' was at once despatched to France and exchanged for wines and other goods which were carried to Amsterdam; and the foundations were soon laid for a traffic in flour and bread with the West Indies which as time

went on became the main source of the prosperity of New York.

The Dutchmen's position at the great gateway to the West had begun to tell in their favor. The New Englanders no longer competed with them in the fur trade; the Canadians were their only rivals. Peltry was still their chief article of export. In 1656 Fort Orange and its vicinity sent down about thirty-five thousand beaver skins to Manhattan, and in October, 1660, Stuyvesant wrote that since the beginning of the year twenty-five or thirty thousand had been handled at Manhattan, yielding some 16,000 guilders in export duties. Tobacco stood next to furs as an article of export. Most of it came, in spite of the English Navigation Acts, from Maryland and Virginia; yet so much was grown in the province that in 1653, when food was scarce, the government ordered every farmer to plant as many hills of corn as of tobacco. Ten years later the food supplies raised in New Netherland more than sufficed for its own needs. Pork, beef, and peas were carried from Manhattan by the Company's ships to its people in Curaçoa more cheaply than they could be sent from Holland. Not only flour and hard bread or biscuit but also lumber, salted meat and fish, and pickled oysters were sent to other West Indian ports. To encourage this trade the import duty on sugar brought from the islands had been removed in 1658.

European goods were costly in New Netherland but profits can hardly have been greater than in New England, for heavy customs dues were added to the cost of transportation, and transportation averaged high in times when it took as long for cargoes to cross the Atlantic as it does now to reach the Philippines and when maritime disasters, including piracies, were much more frequent than they are to-day.

In Holland as in England many family names, such as King, Prince, and Bishop, Tower and Castle, and the names of saints and heroes, were derived in old days from the carved figures and pictorial signs used to distinguish houses and

shops before systems of street numbering were invented. As a much closer connection then existed between retail trading and commercial enterprise than now prevails, to the same source may plausibly be traced the curious names of many of the Dutch ships that voyaged between the fatherland and Manhattan, names like *Arms of Amsterdam, Gilded Beaver, Gilded Star, Spotted Cow, Crossed Heart, Pear Tree, Spheramundi,* and *Fire of Troy.*

In fishing industries as in ship building New Netherland was far behind Massachusetts. So prolific were its bays and its Great River that its people, sons of the Low Countries though they were, did no deep-sea fishing. Of course they built their own boats and their sloops for river navigation.

Iron they did not mine although they knew that it existed in their territories. To some small extent they worked the copper veins in the region that is now New Jersey. Twice — both times in ships that foundered on the way — they sent home samples of minerals which they thought contained quicksilver, gold, and other metals. Horses they imported from Curaçoa and, oddly enough, once at least 'walnut timber' from Holland. Grist-mills and sawmills were active on Manhattan and near Fort Orange. Tanning, stone quarrying, lime burning, soap boiling, and the making of potash and tar were locally pursued to meet local needs. Brewers were many, and vintagers brought over from Heidelberg made acceptable wine. Delft ware said to be as good as that of the titular town was manufactured on Long Island. Bricks made at Fort Orange were carried down the river to Manhattan; kilns erected on the island itself did not succeed. In 1662 the Englishmen of Gravesend destroyed the plant of a Dutchman who was trying to make salt on Coney Island, claiming the island for themselves. Another Dutchman, Evert Duyckinck, made glass at New Amsterdam, apparently on a considerable scale as he received apprentices; yet his product must have been chiefly window glass, for the Dutch never bottled their liquors, keeping them in casks and little kegs. On the window of the magistrates' room in the Stadt

Huis Duyckinck emblazoned the arms of the city, and he also painted them on its fire-buckets. Domestic industries one might assume, were largely pursued, yet the wills and inventories of the period mention few looms or spinning-wheels although they carefully include the commonest and cheapest household belongings.

In 1657 Stuyvesant resigned on behalf of the Company the milling-rights which from the first it had monopolized; he opposed successfully the wish of the Company to monopolize the importation of salt from Curaçoa, saying that misfortune might result if private traders could not also bring in so indispensable a commodity; and in 1661 he tried to prevent the monopolizing by local traders of the food supplies of the city. On the other hand the Company rebuked him for granting to certain persons the sole right to make potash, salt, and bricks and tiles, telling him not to favor individuals 'at the expense of the general welfare.'

All that is known of those regulations in regard to trade which, as has been told, the first little legislative assembly that met in New Netherland framed in 1657, appears in a reproving letter written by the Company. It implies that the rules were designed to prohibit the sale of goods, except to Indians, at more than double their prime cost in Holland, and to lower the prices of bread, beer, and wine and the wages of artisans. Such rules, said the Company, would decrease its own revenues and injure its colonists.

Yet it thought that Stuyvesant ought to be able to regulate the value of the local currency. This was the chief of the commercial problems of New Netherland as the heavy customs dues were the chief of its commercial troubles. Such silver as came into the province quickly flowed out again, even the light-weight coin that was sent over when Stuyvesant decreed that pieces-of-eight should pass at a higher valuation in New Netherland than in Holland. The Company scolded its executive for making this experiment, and also for trying to get consignments of coin from private sources when it

would send him none; and it would not sanction a provincial mint although the city magistrates as well as the governor asked for one.

In the dearth of coin, produce of many kinds passed current as was the case in the English colonies. For example, at Newtown on Long Island in 1661 a man bought a house and lot for six hundredweight of tobacco, half a vat of strong beer, and a thousand clapboards, a term then used for stave-stock. But the trader's main reliance was upon beavers and wampum. Beavers, the local standard of value, were as good as gold for remittance to Europe. Wampum, useless for this purpose, was, as Stuyvesant observed, the only available 'legal tender between individuals,' and was indispensable as the 'source and mother of the beaver trade' because for goods only without wampum in addition the savages still refused to sell their furs. Debts of thousands of guilders were often discharged with this Indian money; laborers and farmers got nothing else; and at last the Company ordered the governor to pay its employees and soldiers in wampum if the beavers in hand did not suffice but not to receive it for duties or taxes.

Produced in variable quantities as well as qualities, wampum fluctuated in value and in the long run depreciated. Often the Company advised Stuyvesant to fix its value afresh, and the people and their magistrates spoke the same desire. He never wished to interfere in any way with the currency — a merit which the *Remonstrance* of 1649 counted to him as a fault. But at last, in 1659, he consented to order that eight instead of six white beads should be rated as a stiver. Soon he reported to the Company that such 'orders, rules, and reductions' were of no avail; to lower the value of wampum meant simply that the trader had to give a larger amount for a beaver skin — eight beads were worth no more than six had been. In modern parlance he had merely changed the ratio of the established 'double standard.' Formerly a beaver skin had stood to a wampum bead in the ratio of 1 to 960; now it stood as 1 to 1280, for a silver guilder contained twenty

stivers and the price of a beaver had been fixed at eight guilders.

To follow the Company's advice, Stuyvesant also explained, and to declare wampum

> . . . absolutely bullion and not receivable at so much a guilder would endanger the beaver trade and lead it into other channels; nor can it be done as long as we have no other currency here for the retail trade. On the other hand, we are taught by experience that if we let it go as at present wampum will depreciate more and more every year, the inhabitants grow poorer and poorer and houses and lands go to ruin. . . . It would be desirable therefore, as we have repeatedly stated to you, that wampum and beavers as well as tobacco should be declared an absolute commodity or merchandise. . . .

This, the governor thought, might be accomplished if a supply of small coin were sent out and nothing else allowed to pass as legal tender, and if beavers, tobacco, and other things were kept by fiat in New Netherland under their market price in Holland. The Company did not sanction this experiment; and the governor merely increased confusion when he tried to sustain the currency by indirect methods, fixing the price of wheat bread, rye bread, and liquors in silver, beaver, and wampum.

It should be understood, however, that attempts to fix by law the value of coins and of commodities had often been made in Europe and were often made in the English colonies. Indeed, they could hardly be avoided when the circulation of coin was international and when various commodities were used not only in direct barter but also in the payment of taxes and, at times, in the fulfilment of bargains which had been concluded in terms of minted money or of staples like tobacco and beaver skins.

The merchants of New Amsterdam often complained that, as the ports of New England were free, Dutch cargoes were landed there to be introduced into New Netherland from 'under our neighbors' wings.' Thomas Willett, Stuyvesant reported, was one of the 'most influential' of the New Englanders engaged in this smuggler's traffic. To suppress it the

Company ordered that a sixteen per cent import duty should be exacted at New Amsterdam upon all goods brought in from the English colonies and that no export duties need be paid on those sent thither; but the chief result, as shown by the Company's own letters, was that the Englishmen changed their methods of absorbing profits, secretly carrying peltry and the 'best goods' from Holland over the East River in small boats by night and then across Long Island to New England, and giving in exchange nothing but wampum, so that the merchants of Amsterdam had to wait long for profitable returns while their factors at New Amsterdam were sitting on 'boxes full of wampum' which they could not remit to Holland but could use only 'among the savages' as opportunity occurred.

Naught availing to stop the downward course of this currency, by 1662 a beaver skin could not be bought for less than twenty-five guilders in wampum beads although the value of the beads then stood legally at twelve to a stiver and the price in silver of a beaver skin had been reduced to six guilders. Nevertheless New Netherland did not suffer as much from its dependence upon this medium of exchange as did Virginia from the tobacco currency which had a real value but was perishable and unmanageable. Although wampum beads, unlike tobacco, had as little intrinsic worth in the eyes of a white man as African shell money or a hopelessly irredeemable paper currency has to-day, they did have a value to the red man and so were partially sustained by the necessities of the fur trade; and they were not perishable and cumbersome like tobacco although they were very tedious to count. Official 'wampum stringers,' who sometimes at least were women, are mentioned in the records.

As the circulation of gold and silver was international and as the coins of all nations were frequently clipped it was often needful to weigh them to ascertain their worth. Scales made for this purpose appear in many old likenesses, painted or engraved, of the merchants of Holland and Germany, as in Holbein's beautiful portrait of George Gisze in the Berlin

collection. In New Netherland also they were used. A little carved wooden box, marked as made at Amsterdam in 1658 and preserved intact for generations at Albany, contains such a pair of scales and two trays filled with weights. These, about forty in number, are small rectangles of gilded lead, stamped in imitation of various coins and duly labelled as ducats, angels, pistoles, rose nobles, lion dollars, and so forth. They are all of the same diameter but differ in thickness to secure the proper weight.

More than once the Company censured Stuyvesant for laying extra duties on beaver to the profit of his own exchequer but the detriment of the merchant in Holland. His excuse was that in one way or another he had to raise a revenue; and gradually he came to see what his people had understood from the first — that the great obstacle in the path of their progress was the burdensome duties exacted by the Company itself. How, he asked, could New Netherland traffic largely with Curaçoa as the Company desired? Its inhabitants had to pay from twelve to sixteen per cent in duties and those at Curaçoa only two per cent; all goods arriving at New Amsterdam had first to be exchanged for wampum and then for beavers or tobacco; and the Company monopolized the trade in logwood, Curaçoa's chief article of export. For the 'salvation of New Netherland' the governor begged that it might be taxed 'like but not more than others.' The Company replied that it would raise the duties at Curaçoa to equal those at New Amsterdam; then 'trade would develop.'

More and more from year to year New Netherland showed a desire to educate its children and a willingness to do so at its own expense despite the pledges given by the Company. 'Nothing is of greater importance than the early instruction of youth,' said Governor Stuyvesant; a lack of schoolmasters, said Domine Megapolensis, would mean 'a ruined youth and a bewilderment of men's minds'; and repeatedly the people said the same. In reply to the complaints upon this subject

that they embodied in the *Remonstrance* of 1649 Cornelis Van Tienhoven declared that the free school was always maintained and that various teachers 'kept school in hired houses' so that the young were provided with 'the means of instruction.' Certainly this was true in somewhat later days, for the richer families employed private tutors while twenty-eight masters of schools public and private had been licensed by the year 1664, not including those who served in the South River country. Among them were persons of prominence like Jacobus Van Corlaer, David Provoost, Andries Hudde, and Jan La Montagne the son of the physician and councillor. As some if not all of these were schoolmasters first, traders and officeholders in after years, it seems that, then as now, schoolteaching was often regarded as a mere useful makeshift until other careers should open. In the smaller towns and probably in New Amsterdam the schoolmaster filled minor church offices, acting as *voorleser* (clerk), bell ringer, and keeper of the records. Carel De Beauvois, appointed schoolmaster at Breuckelen in 1661, was furthermore chorister, grave digger, and court messenger. No one could teach without a government license. Stuyvesant even warned Jacobus Van Corlaer, as unlicensed, to shut his school although the city magistrates had authorized him to open it. Both before and after the City Tavern became the Stadt Huis one of its rooms was given at times for the use of the public school. The burgomasters secured a site for a schoolhouse in 1662 but had not built upon it when the English captured the province.

In 1658 the burgomasters joined to their petition to the Company for reduced customs rates a renewal of the people's request that a master for a Latin school might be sent out, saying that many young persons already able to read and write desired further instruction but could not obtain it as the nearest grammar school was at Boston. If New Amsterdam could now secure one, they explained, it might 'finally attain to an academy' and thus become a 'place of great splendor.' Accordingly, the Company sent out a master to whom the city gave a salary of 500 guilders with permission to

exact six guilders from each pupil. Proving unsatisfactory he was sent back to Holland. Ægidius Luyck, a young man who had been tutor in Stuyvesant's family, was put in his place, the provincial and the city government each paying him 500 guilders a year. Under his management the 'Greek and Latin school' of New Amsterdam attracted pupils from all parts of the province and even from far-away Virginia.

While during the latter years of New Netherland almost every town and village had its schoolmaster, on Manhattan after the year 1661 there were, in addition to the grammar school, two free elementary schools — the original school in the city and another in the Bowery village. In Boston, which by 1664 had about three times as many inhabitants as New Amsterdam, the only school supported from the public funds was still the Latin school; and the school law enacted for Massachusetts in 1647 needed reënactment in 1665. At New Haven a 'colony grammar school' was opened in 1660 because all efforts to maintain town grammar schools had failed; in 1662 it was suspended for lack of patronage but was soon reopened with the help of a private benefaction. The laws of this colony said that children should be taught to read and write but not that elementary schools should be maintained. In 1660 the general court of Connecticut also complained of 'small progress' in the founding of town grammar schools two-thirds of the cost of which was borne by their pupils, offered a bonus of £100 and an annual subsidy of £40 to the town that would set up a colony school, and laid penalties on parents whose boys could not read and write.

The attempts of the Dutch authorities to induce the Indians to send some of their children to be taught at New Amsterdam proved futile, and so did the efforts of their clergymen to Christianize adult savages. Domine Megapolensis was the first Protestant missionary who went among the wild tribes, learning for this purpose, while he was at Fort Orange and some years before John Eliot produced his Indian Bible, what he called the 'heavy Mohawk tongue.' But in 1654 he and Domine Drisius wrote to the classis of New Amsterdam

that they were deeply discouraged. Even their most promising pupil, a sachem who had come to Manhattan and learned to read and write English, had, they said with refreshing candor, 'only the bare knowledge of the truth without the practice of godliness,' was greatly given to drink, and 'no better than other Indians.' Three years later they wrote that he had steadily gone down hill, pawning his Bible and becoming a 'regular brute.' Two things, they explained, were necessary if the savages were to be Christianized: they must be really subdued and the whites must set them a better example.

Never, it seems, did the New Netherlanders ask for a printing press. In their day Holland was the great publishing house of Europe, printing more than all other countries combined and as eager in political pamphleteering as in the eighteenth century England came to be. It has been computed that some ten thousand Dutch pamphlets of various kinds still survive from the seventeenth century; and those other precursors of the modern newspaper, broadsides or handbills, were as plentifully produced to be stuck about in public places. As the press was absolutely free, whatever the people of New Amsterdam or their friends in the fatherland wished to print could there be published. Nor, indeed, were conditions very different in Massachusetts, for the press established at Cambridge in 1638 was under the control of the presidents of Harvard College and published nothing beyond public documents, almanacs, and the theses of Harvard students. All else, including controversial pamphlets, was sent for publication to England. A private press was not set up in Massachusetts until 1665 and then was under strict censorship.

Hostile Indians and Englishmen, wars and the prospect of wars, commercial disputes and financial perplexities did not glut Peter Stuyvesant's appetite for work. Of his own motion he attempted religious persecution.

Nothing of the kind had been thought of in New Netherland

until 1652 when Domine Megapolensis petitioned that an Anabaptist woman be brought before the governor, the Nine Men, and the consistory of the church for using 'calumnious expressions against God's work and his servants.' In 1654 the Lutherans, who included some of the Dutchmen and all of the Scandinavians on Manhattan, asked leave to call a clergyman of their own and transmitted the prayer to the West India Company when Stuyvesant told them that he was bound by his oath of office to sanction only the established church of Holland. In 1656 Megapolensis and Drisius complained about the 'sectaries' of many sorts who were openly holding services on Long Island, and the government forbade under heavy penalties all 'conventicles and meetings whether public or private' different from those of the Reformed church and all preaching by 'unqualified' persons, explaining, however, that it did not thereby

> . . . intend any constraint of conscience in violation of previously granted patents, nor to prohibit the reading of God's Holy Word, family prayers and worship, each in his household.

This ordinance, unwise and unnecessary but legal according to the orders of the West India Company as embodied in the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1640, the sectaries generally disobeyed; and the Lutherans, whom the Company now instructed Stuyvesant to treat mildly but without favor, continued to demand the wider liberties they had enjoyed in Holland. Fines and imprisonments followed, one or two banishments, and renewed appeals to the Company.

In June, 1657, a year after the Quakers first entered Massachusetts and Connecticut, five of them were brought by an English ship to Manhattan. Visiting the governor they found him, as they afterwards reported, moderate 'both in words and actions.' But two of them, women, were arrested and briefly imprisoned for preaching turbulently in the streets. The others, going to Long Island, were also arrested and soon sent on to Rhode Island which Domine Megapolensis described as a place of 'errorists and enthusiasts.' Then, it

was said, Thomas Willett urged Stuyvesant to greater severity. By order of the governor in council a Quaker named Hodgson who made himself conspicuous on Long Island was arrested, imprisoned, and condemned to pay a heavy fine or to work for two years chained to the Company's negroes. Refusing to pay or to work he was severely and repeatedly flogged, and when Stuyvesant's sister interfered to save his life was turned out of the province. Stern enactments issued against the harboring of Quakers had little effect except to make converts to their faith. Some of the English Long Islanders approved of the governor's course; more of them disapproved; and twenty-eight freeholders of Flushing with two of Jamaica joined in a remonstrance, a noble document nobly phrased which was written for them by the town clerk of Flushing, Edward Heart, and carried to Governor Stuyvesant by the sheriff, Tobias Feake. The 'law of love, peace, and liberty,' said the remonstrants, which in Holland was extended even to 'Jews, Turks, and Egyptians,' was the 'glory' of the Republic. They themselves could not condemn the people called Quakers

> . . . neither stretch out our hands against them to punish, banish, or persecute them. . . . That which is of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing. . . . Therefore if any of these said persons come in love unto us we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them but give them free egress and regress into our towns and houses. . . . This is according to the patent and charter of our town . . . which we are not willing to infringe or violate.

As a reply Governor Stuyvesant arrested Heart, Feake, and two others, deprived Flushing of the right to hold town-meetings, and altered its government. Heart, asking for mercy, was released upon payment of costs; Feake was deposed from his office and sentenced to pay a fine or to go into banishment; and the governor proclaimed a general fast-day so that his people might lament the introduction of the 'new, unheard-of, and abominable heresy.'

It was just at this time that the States General were offering hospitality in New Netherland to persons 'of tender

conscience in England or elsewhere oppressed.' With no good grace could the Company deal harshly with the schismatics already in its province. It did not wish to do so, yet it hesitated and temporized under pressure from the orthodox church in Holland which, supporting the complaints of the ministers in New Netherland, used every effort to secure for the province a rigorous enforcement of laws that were virtually a dead letter in the fatherland.

John Underhill seems to have played no conspicuous part in these controversies, but in 1660 he wrote to Winthrop urging that in Connecticut the Quakers might be left 'to their liberty granted by the good old Parliament of England.'

In 1661, when the Quakers on Long Island grew troublesome again, Stuyvesant issued stricter ordinances than before against the public exercise of any except the established religion, and in 1663 he sent the leader of the Friends, John Bowne, for trial to Holland. There Bowne was acquitted of evil act and intent; and at last the Company prescribed religious toleration for its province, writing to Stuyvesant that, although it wished Quakers and other sectarians would remain elsewhere, he must not put a stop to immigration by treating them rigorously. Following liberal courses, it said, Amsterdam had prospered and doubtless New Amsterdam would be equally blessed.

This was the end of persecution in New Netherland. At their worst Stuyvesant's attempts had been mild compared with those of New England. Of course he never thought of such a law as that which made it a capital offence for Quakers to return to Massachusetts after banishment; he never tried to oblige all persons to attend the services of the established church as was the rule in Virginia as well as in England and in Massachusetts; and the earnest way in which the authorities on Manhattan disclaimed any intention of 'lording it over the consciences' and the private practices of their subjects stood in strong contrast to the so-called Cambridge Platform, framed in 1658, which required the magistrates of

the Bay Colony to punish infractions of ecclesiastical doctrine as well as of ecclesiastical observance.

No reference to the Arminian heresy, so conspicuously troublesome in Holland forty years before, appears in the story of the doctrinal disputes in New Netherland. Yet when this story is read in detail it reflects, weakly and in miniature of course, the character of the great struggle in the fatherland which was more political than theological. The clergymen of Manhattan, not believing like their first predecessor Michaelius that the affairs of church and state might better be kept distinct, feared that the recognition of divers sects would weaken their own influence in public affairs — as they phrased it, would produce public 'disorders.' And General Stuyvesant, distrusting all Englishmen for political reasons, was much more incensed by the readiness of the Long Island schismatics to ignore or defy his authority than by their proneness to schism, much more by the noisy self-assertion of the Quakers than by their doctrines. He molested no one who did not insist upon the right to worship publicly. A Lutheran minister who thus insisted was ordered back to Europe. A famous Jesuit who did not thus insist lived at New Amsterdam during the winter of 1658 on friendly terms with Domine Megapolensis. This was Father Le Moyne, the founder of missions among the Mohawks and Onondagas and the discoverer of the valuable salt springs at the spot that is now Syracuse. It was he who persuaded the governor of Canada to let the New Netherlanders trade on the St. Lawrence.

John Bowne the Quaker returned from Holland to live peaceably at Flushing where his house, built in 1661 with a kitchen chimney twelve feet wide, is still standing. In 1663 the Lutherans of the city formed a congregation. By 1660 twelve or more churches for the orthodox had been built in various parts of the province, and by 1664 the West India Company had induced the classis of Amsterdam to send out thirteen ministers. Often the people begged for more; and with pathetic eagerness they profited as largely as they could

by their meagre opportunities for public worship, those who had no pastor asking for periodical visits from the nearest one or making long Sabbath journeys to his church. Some communities complained that the church rates were too heavy, but more than one village paid them which had neither church nor minister, using the money doubtless for the relief of the poor.

Jews were never persecuted but at first were ill received in New Netherland.

Exiled Jews as well as Christians had long found in Holland their only place of refuge. Those who were living as so-called New Christians under the Portuguese in Brazil welcomed the advent of the Dutch and then resumed the practice of their ancient faith; and from Brazil in 1654, when the Portuguese had driven out the Dutch, came to New Amsterdam by way of Curaçoa the first band of Hebrews whom the province received. They are usually said to have been the first Hebrews received on the North American mainland, and undoubtedly they were its first Jewish settlers although the records of Massachusetts for the year 1649 show two Jewish names, apparently those of mere visiting traders. They numbered twenty-seven persons, men, women, and children. The richer among them had pledged themselves for the passage money of the poorer. Before they could discharge the debt their goods were seized and sold by auction while two of them were held for a while as 'hostages.' The church spent several hundred guilders in relieving their needs; yet Domine Megapolensis begged that the 'godless rascals' might be sent away, and supported Stuyvesant when he asked the Company to forbid all Jews to 'infest New Netherland.' His congregation, he explained, murmured about their coming because they had no other God than 'the unrighteous Mammon' and no other aim than 'to get possession of Christian property' — charges often expressed at this period in almost identical words by English colonists in the West Indies.

Some of the newcomers, warned away by the provincial and the city authorities, moved on to Rhode Island and founded the Jewish colony at Newport. Meanwhile, however, the Company had written that Jews might reside in the province if they would support their own poor. A few came from Holland, bringing merchandise with them, at the time when Stuyvesant was organizing his South River expedition. As the citizens expressed a 'disgust and unwillingness' to associate with them in the burgher guard, according to the custom of the fatherland they were exempted from service on payment of a commutation tax. They were forbidden to hold real estate or to traffic to other parts of the province; but the Company reproved the governor for this, saying that, as in Holland, they should not be employed in the public service or allowed to keep 'open retail shops' but might traffic in other ways, hold real property, and 'exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses.' With this end in view, the Company added, they would probably prefer to live close to each other as they did in Amsterdam. The suggestion passed unheeded. No Jewish quarter was ever established in New Amsterdam or New York. In 1656 land for a Jewish burial ground was granted outside the city, more than a mile beyond the wall to the eastward of the Bowery Road. A portion of it remains near Chatham Square. The oldest place of the kind in the United States it is still owned by the original congregation, Shearith Israel; and this congregation still preserves the traditions of its Portuguese origin. The oldest stone now standing in the burial ground bears the date 1683.

When burgher-right was established in 1657 several Hebrews wished to buy the Small Burgher-Right. The burgomasters rejected them but the governor in council decided that according to fatherland precedents they must be received. Few later signs of opposition to the presence of Jews on Manhattan can be traced. The dislike to them seems soon to have died away. During a long period of years Abraham D'Lucena, the leading spirit among those who had come to

New Amsterdam from Brazil, was a prominent and honored merchant in New York.

In 1648 a woman was hung as a witch in Boston; in 1654, when the general court at Plymouth made laws for a settlement on the Kennebec, one crime marked as punishable with death was 'solemn conversing or compacting with the devil'; and for this crime there had been nine executions in Connecticut before the year 1662. The spirit thus evinced excited among the Dutch a distrust of the lawmakers of New England. As instructed by the West India Company, Stuyvesant promised in 1663 that some Puritans who wished to come from New Haven to settle on the Raritan River should have their own church services and their own laws; but he insisted that, as their laws were severer than his own, appeals to his court should be permitted in criminal cases except when conviction was obtained upon 'voluntary confession' and, even when it was thus obtained, in all 'dark and dubious' cases such as witchcraft and the like.

The only New Netherlander ever charged with witchcraft was Judith Varleth, a sister of Stuyvesant's brother-in-law, and she was accused at Hartford where her father was living.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE CITY AND ITS PEOPLE

1652–1664

(Governor Stuyvesant)

The said city New Ansterodam is very delightsome and convenient for situation especially for trade, having two main streams or rivers running by with an excellent harbor; the end of the said rivers or streams is the ordinary passage from and to New England and Virginia; . . . it may evidently appear that the Dutch have intruded into his Majesty's rights in the very best part of all that large northern empire. . . . — *Concerning New Netherland or Manhattan. About 1663.*

Governor Stuyvesant's New Amsterdam is seldom pictured, like Governor Van Twiller's, as a setting for *opéra bouffe* performances. It is often painted, with no greater degree of truth, as the counterpart of some insignificant seaport in the peaceful, prosperous, unexcitable Holland of to-day. It is described as a sleepy, slothful village of apathetic boors and burghers stupefied by beer and tobacco and living in a stagnant isolation from which they were fortunately aroused by the advent of the English as their rulers.

A seaport planted anywhere in the world by Dutchmen of the seventeenth century could not be a drowsy place, and the one that they planted on Manhattan was not an isolated place. It lived by traffic with the ever-dangerous people of the forest, with Englishmen up and down the coast, and with men of many nations eastward and southward across the sea; and it was a thoroughfare in a sense that was true of no other place on the American mainland, for those who voyaged between New England and Virginia preferred to pass through

the safe waters of Long Island Sound, ships from England bound for New England often tarried in the harbor, and so at times did Dutch, French, and English privateers. Life was more varied and more agitated within the 'walls and gates' that enclosed New Amsterdam's heterogeneous population, excited by many controversies and threatened by many perils, than it was in any English-American community. Rarely indeed except in the depths of winter can New Amsterdam have known a quiet day, never a dull, monotonous season. Liveliness was one of the few things it never lacked, torpidity one of the moods of mind it could not encourage, peaceful sloth one of the careers for which it offered no chance.

Its people were not conscious, like the New Englanders, of a high responsibility as the tenders of precarious beacon fires, religious and political, in a land of promise. Yet they knew that they were living in such a land and they had, therefore, a sense of corporate pride not to be measured by counting their numbers; for a little colony that is opening up the resources of a rich new continent may well feel itself superior in importance to a city of many thousands upon older soil. The men of New Amsterdam understood as clearly as covetous Englishmen that they had possessed themselves of the very best part of that 'large northern empire' claimed by the kings of England and France; and this fact would by itself have sufficed to differentiate them widely from the inhabitants of any town of fifteen hundred souls in the Holland of their time or of ours.

Although their city was still a frontier post in a truer sense than Boston, for Boston contained many more people and was much more solidly flanked and protected by lesser settlements, it probably presented the more civilized appearance. Some observers praised Boston highly but Colonel Cartwright, one of the royal commissioners sent from England in 1664, wrote in the following year that its houses were 'generally wooden' and its streets 'crooked and unpaved with little decency and no uniformity.' In New Amsterdam also, Stuyvesant wrote when he arrived in 1647, the houses were

chiefly of wood. By 1664 they were mostly of brick with tiled roofs while those on the outlying farmsteads were often of stone. The annual rent of an ordinary house in the city seems to have been about fifteen beaver skins, or from 120 to 180 guilders.

Near the fort the houses were compactly placed. Elsewhere within the wall there was room for great trees and shady groves of aboriginal growth, and for open spaces brightened by the rich native flora, by crops of rye, barley, and tobacco, and by the fruit trees and garden flowers that the Hollander always carried with him from his fatherland. Indeed, there was an 'excess of large gardens,' said the West India Company when it got Cortelyou's map; if more closely built upon, the place might be more easily defended.

As standards of cleanliness and comfort were much higher among the Dutch than among the English at this period, New Amsterdam would undoubtedly have given less pain than Boston to the senses of a modern sanitarian. For a long period after it became New York all strangers noticed how spotless its Dutch traditions kept it within doors; and the outward dishevelment of its early years was greatly bettered after the city magistrates took it in charge. Then, with the aid of the provincial government, they gradually improved the streets, appointing official 'fence viewers,' refusing to let poor structures occupy good sites, ordering away pigsties, hen-houses, and other nuisances, and, to lessen the risk of fire, prohibiting hay stacks and wooden chimneys. Hogs had been at first the only scavengers, entering the yards from the streets. They were never entirely banished and, although their owners were ordered to supply them with nose-rings so that they could not root up the footways, in 1653 one of the many pompous, long-winded, but usually sensible communications that Stuyvesant addressed to the city magistrates said that he saw 'with great grief' the damage done to the earthen walls of the fort by hogs 'especially now again in the spring when the grass comes out.' He begged that the magistrates would fence in the fort to 'prevent the pigs';

and the people were duly ordered to keep the animals in their sties until a fence could be built.

Soon after Brower Straet was paved 'with cobble stones' in 1658 and given the name that it still retains as Stone Street other streets were improved in the same way. Along each side of the Heere Gracht or Great Canal ran a street, and along the East River shore, from the mouth of the Heere Gracht to the Water Poort at the end of the city wall, a fine walk protected by the *schoeynge* or sea-wall of planks and therefore called *De Waal* or *Lang de Waal.* The path at a little distance from the inner side of the city wall, which afterwards developed into Wall Street, was called the *Cingel* (the Circuit).

Near the wharf at the mouth of the Heere Gracht a small market house was built in 1656, and on the Plain in front of the fort, now the Bowling Green, a meat market in 1659 — a substantial structure with a tiled roof. There were no market places in all New England towns as there were in all Dutch towns, and not until 1740 was a public market house built in Boston. An annual cattle fair held at New Amsterdam for six weeks in the autumn was called a 'free market,' which meant that strangers as well as burghers then had liberty to trade at retail and were exempt from arrest. Proclamations put into English brought farmers with their herds and flocks from points as distant as Stamford in New Haven Colony and the eastern parts of Long Island; and for thirty years or more this Dutch institution survived in New York.

The earliest garden of a scientific sort in any of the colonies was undoubtedly the 'herb garden,' probably a part of the West India Company's large garden near the fort, which Van der Donck described as already falling into decay before he left New Amsterdam to carry the people's *Remonstrance* to Holland in 1649. Stuyvesant either revived it or laid out another, for at his request the Company sent him seeds and medicinal plants from the botanic garden at Leyden. The present City Hall Park is a fragment of the common land, called *De Vlackte* (the Flat) and afterwards the Commons, where, well

outside the city wall, the citizens had free pasturage for their cattle.

In 1658, dissatisfied with the governor's house in the fort, Stuyvesant got the city magistrates to confirm his title to what they called the 'abandoned lots' which had belonged to the 'bankrupt fugitive,' piratical Thomas Baxter. This site, near the southeastern corner of the fort, the governor had already 'ornamented' with an 'expensive and handsome residence' fronting on the public wharf where his official barge could lie at his doorstep. After the English came in they called it Whitehall, a name still borne by the narrow street which led to it from the Plain and was called by the Dutch *Marcktveld* (Marketfield).

Behind Jacobus Van Couwenhoven's house stood his 'great stone brewery.' Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt's house had a similar companion. Just outside the city wall, almost all across the island, stretched the great Damen Bouwerie, granted by Governor Kieft to his friend of the 'bloody hands.' Here, on the *Maagde Paetje* or Maiden Lane, so called because of a brook frequented by washerwomen, stood Damen's brewery which his stepson Jan Vinje managed until he became a farmer, brewer, and miller on his own account. On the East River shore outside the wall were Isaac Allerton's warehouses, Govert Lockerman's estate surrounded by a palisade, and Thomas Hall's with 'house, brewery, horse-mill, and other buildings.' Many of the burghers who lived in the city had farms and country houses elsewhere on Manhattan.

In 1858 there was found in the British Museum a large manuscript map brightly colored in red, blue, green, and yellow, which is labelled *The Duke's Plan* — referring of course to the Duke of York for whom the province was seized in 1664 — but also *A Description of the Towne of Mannados or New Amsterdam as it was in September, 1661.* It shows the lower end of the island, in a sadly contracted harbor, with the Waal, the Heere Gracht, and the city wall well indicated, five bastions mounted with cannon protecting the wall, a battery on the

East River shore in front of the Stadt Huis, and a large windmill on the North River shore close to the northwestern angle of the fort. No localities bear names except the governor's city house, his garden far away on the west side of the Heere Weg just south of the spot which is now Trinity Churchyard, and Isaac Allerton's group of buildings. The street lines are fairly accurate if tested by those that still exist, but the many large formal gardens which fill the interiors of the blocks must be credited to the draughtsman's desire to make his map as pretty as possible.

Many of the houses in the city had crow-stepped gables turned toward the street and roofs of vari-colored tiles. Some had projecting beams in the gable for the hoisting of goods into the store-rooms beneath the roof, and the characteristic Dutch porch or 'stoop' raised several feet above the ground. Inside, there were no stoves but enormous stone fireplaces bordered with blue and white tiles; there were great bedsteads built into the walls, solid pieces of furniture, stores of household linen and handsome clothes, and treasures of pewter and silver; also, though rarely, large looking-glasses, marble tables, clocks, 'alabaster images,' 'great china pots,' and, in Stuyvesant's house at least, cabinets of ebony which were probably receptacles for porcelain treasures. These were more likely of Japanese than of Chinese origin, for after 1641 Nagasaki was an important trading post for the Dutch. The burghers of New Amsterdam had a great deal more silverware than the New Englanders who in other ways were much richer, but they did not regard it as an extravagance. It played the part now played by the savings-bank. 'Money and plate' is a frequent conjunction of terms in inventories and wills.

From the same lists it appears that chairs, always straight-backed, were sometimes covered with Russia leather or with velvet and silver lace. The 'carpets' often mentioned were small rugs or, more commonly, table-covers; sand was the universal floor covering. The wonderful blooming of art in the Netherlands had so developed the popular love for pic-

tures and the belief in them as good investments that they abounded everywhere, even in the cottages of peasants. In New Amsterdam also they were numerous, relatively much more numerous than books.

Modest in size and put to modest uses were these comfortable Dutch-American houses, trade and family life going on together beneath the same roof as was the contemporary custom in European towns. The kitchen was the family sitting-room. Like the smaller chambers the room for formal uses, which we should call the parlor, held a bedstead; and here stood the Dutchwoman's most indispensable article of furniture, her big *kas* or clothes-chest. The plentiful wadded petticoats and suits of clothing that filled the *kas* were of sorts that many years' wear could not damage. Much household linen was needed where, according to the general European practice, it was allowed to accumulate for the great bleacheries that were undertaken only twice or four times in a year. Mighty smokers though they were, Dutchmen, say their own historians, rarely smoked indoors. But the extreme care that they bestowed upon the cleanliness of the house and its furnishings, say the same authorities, did not extend to their persons or to their clothing when in use. If Sir William Temple made no such remarks when he spoke with wonder of the niceties of Dutch housekeeping it was because, low as was then the standard of personal cleanliness in Holland, it was still lower elsewhere.

All the shops in New Amsterdam were general stores on a larger or smaller scale. The best one was kept by Cornelis Steenwyck who was one of the few Great Burghers and in later years was thought the richest man in the province. Taverns were of much more importance in the life of the community than they are to-day — the citizens' only substitutes for the modern hotel, restaurant, dance-house, club-house, exchange, and newspaper. Some of them were kept by prominent men like Martin Cregier and Salamon La Chair, a notary public who left his wine business in his wife's charge when, on his little yacht, he was making professional tours of the

province. A record book in La Chair's handwriting, preserved in the office of the city clerk of New York, shows that he had a collection of law-books for reference and also that he may well have needed to supplement in some way the profits of his profession. It says, for instance, that his fee for establishing the right of the people of Gravesend to Coney Island was twenty-four guilders' worth of 'grey peas' on which he had to pay the freight, and for some aid given to Sir Henry Moody 'an English book of no use.'

The fruits and vegetables of Holland flourished in the garden-plots and truck-farms of Manhattan. Rye and barley grew in the unexhausted soil higher than the head of a man. Breweries being many, so of course were hop gardens while, as Father Jogues had noted, both wheat and oats were used in the making of beer. Other edibles besides the invaluable maize had been acquired from the red men; and the riches, incredible to a newly arrived European, of virgin woods and waters were now turned to good account by the skilful hands of the Dutch housewife. There were many kinds of fish and of shell-fish, including lobsters sometimes five or six feet long although those thought best for the table were from a foot to a foot and a half in length. Venison was so cheaply procured from Indian hunters that the mutton for which the first settlers had pined was now little esteemed. Wild turkeys abounded, as many as 'five hundred in a flock.' Pigeons and partridges darkened the sky in their flight. Manifold kinds of geese and ducks lay in clouds on river and bay, while thousands of swans sometimes made their shores appear as though bordered by 'white napery.' Wild strawberries reddened the fields; and, wherever one turned, wild vines clothed 'the largest and loftiest trees' with garlands of grapes 'large and sweet as in Holland.' If the accounts of these things written by Van der Donck, Domine Megapolensis, and the poet Steendam could have come to the ears of the peasants of Europe as readily as such information would reach the lowliest and most remote to-day, surely New Netherland would not have had to beg for settlers.

Entertainments under the domestic roof were limited to family festivals but these were many and jovial; even funerals were almost festivities, so plentiful was the proffered supply of food, drink, and tobacco. The men constantly met at their 'clubs' in the taverns; and here, indoors or on the garden turf, the young people danced. Public occasions in country places near by, like the founding of a new town or the dedication of a new church, were marked by ceremonies that included a banquet given by the people of the locality to the governor or his representatives.

At New Amsterdam the celebration of Christmas and other old church festivals was not thought, as in 1659 the general court of Massachusetts pronounced it, a 'great dishonor' to God. Most characteristically Dutch were the St. Nicholas Day and New Year's Day observances, but Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide were also celebrated by the Dutch Calvinist as heartily as by any Catholic. Nor was New Amsterdam's Sunday by any means the Sabbath of New England. All avoidable kinds of labor, all amusements, and all sales of drinks were strictly forbidden 'before, during, and between' the hours of service; but when Stuyvesant tried to extend such prohibitions to cover the whole twenty-four hours the city magistrates refused to publish his ordinance, saying that it was too severe and 'contrary to the freedoms' of the fatherland. The many days of prayer and humiliation and the rarer thanksgiving days appointed by the governor were observed in the same manner as the Sabbath. In 1655 when a merchant applied to the council for permission 'to make a lottery of a certain quantity of Bibles, Testaments, and other books,' asking also that persons be appointed to value the stock and 'to select something for the poor,' the matter was referred to the city court which resolved 'that the same being advantageous shall be proceeded with.'

Stuyvesant's Sunday ordinances show what sports his people enjoyed on week-days and on the Sabbath after their devotions had been performed: 'going on pleasure parties in

boat, car, or wagon,' 'fishing, fowling, and roving in search of nuts and strawberries,' playing at dice, cards, bowls, shovel-board, and tennis, and at *troch*, a game with balls and hoops often played on the grass. Golf was also a Dutch game, described as played with a small ball, a crooked club, and a series of small holes in the turf. Turkey shooting was a common pastime in New Netherland. With small success, apparently, the governor in council issued ordinances against firing guns, beating drums, and selling liquor on New Year's Day and May Day, against the erection of May-poles as likewise conducive to disorderly conduct, and against the rough sport called pulling or riding the goose. This, says a solemn communication addressed by the governor and council to the city magistrates, was enjoyed by certain farmers' servants 'on the feast of Bacchus at Shrove-tide' but was a 'pagan and popish' sport and, moreover, 'altogether unprofitable, unnecessary, and censurable' despite the fact that, as the burgomasters and *schepens* had pointed out, it was 'tolerated and looked at through the fingers in some places in Fatherland.' Certain servants who had engaged in it after being warned against it had thereupon been arrested and brought before the council. Then 'threatening, cursing, deriding, and laughing at the chief magistracy,' they had been committed to prison. And by this fact the burgomasters and *schepens* had felt as deeply aggrieved, said their official superiors,

> . . . as if we can issue no order or forbid no rabble to celebrate the feast of Bacchus without the advice, knowledge, and consent of the Burgomasters and Schepens, much less have power to correct such persons as transgress the Christian and Holy Commandment without the cognizance and consent of an inferior court of justice.

The director and council, their irate letter furthermore says, understood their own authority better than did others and therefore notified the city magistrates that these should confine themselves to their proper duties as set forth in the instructions given them, should no longer trouble and torment the director-general in regard to his ordinances, and should understand

. . . that the establishing of an inferior court of justice . . . does in no wise infringe on or diminish the power and authority of the Director General and Council to enact any ordinances or issue particular interdicts, especially those which tend to the glory of God, the best interests of the inhabitants, or will prevent more sins, scandals, debaucheries, and crimes and properly correct, fine, and punish obstinate transgressors.

In the following year when the farmers again made ready to pull the goose and the city court was formally asked by the council whether it intended to permit such transgression of the ordinances of a higher power, it decided that the *schout* should *ex officio* inform the farmers that their intention was illegal. It is plain that the conduct of public affairs must have been difficult in a place where the respective functions of two sets of officials were so vaguely defined; and also that stagnation was not the atmosphere of a place where so small a matter could raise such a squall.

In New Amsterdam there were no vehicles built for purposes of pleasure or mere comfort — only utilitarian carts. And there were no side-saddles; the women rode on pillions behind the men. In winter, however, Holland itself hardly offered better chances for the true Dutch joys of skating and sleighing than the frozen rivers and ponds, marshes and meadows of Manhattan. English visitors delighted to watch men and women flying over the ice with great market-baskets on their heads. But they were slow to adopt useful inventions novel to their eyes, for two or three generations seem to have passed before the *slee* of New Netherland made its way into New England. When iron lacked, its runners were shod with split saplings.

In summer a spot called the Locust Trees, on the bluff overlooking the North River back of Governor Stuyvesant's garden, was a favorite trysting and loitering place. More than one primeval tree appears to have been preserved within the city limits to shelter the pipe-smoking burgher who might not smoke in his own home. Nutten (Governor's) Island was some sort of a pleasure ground; and the Bowery village, said Domine Selyns writing to the classis of Amsterdam, was 'a

place of relaxation and pleasure whither people go from the Manhattans for the evening service.'

In the year 1649 there were 15,000 whites and 300 negro slaves in Virginia; by 1671 there were 40,000 whites and 2000 blacks. There were never many blacks in Stuyvesant's province. The first that came directly from Africa arrived in 1655. Scarcely any others followed along this route. In 1660 Cornelis Steenwyck and some other merchants asked for permission to bring slaves, as the West India Company allowed, from the coast of Africa; but, so far as the records tell, neither these nor any other New Netherlanders ever actually engaged in the traffic. Some negroes were sent up from Brazil, more from Curaçoa which was the Dutch as Barbadoes was the English emporium for the slave trade; and some, captured on Spanish or Portuguese ships, were brought in by Dutch privateers. One or two were occasionally imported from Curaçoa by individual colonists. As a rule they were sent by the Company to be sold for its benefit or by merchants in Holland under special licenses from the Company. In 1660 forty were auctioned off on the Company's account and paid for 'in produce.' The burgomasters then asked for four able-bodied men for the use of the city and got three. There was some trading in slaves at this time between New Amsterdam and New England; and so many newly arrived blacks were sent down to Virginia that in 1655 the director in council laid a duty of ten per cent of the selling price upon all that should be sent out of the province. In 1664 when the Company sent in three hundred of them on the ship *Gideon* — the largest consignment ever received in New Netherland — it ordered that they should be employed in agriculture and not exported, and that at least one-third of their selling price should be sent to the Company itself 'in beavers'; otherwise it would 'lose all desire,' it said, 'to continue supplying slaves.' It very soon lost all chance. What else there is to tell about the *Gideon* and its human cargo forms part of the story of the surrender of Manhattan to the English.

Almost all the negroes in the province, barring those that the West India Company retained, were employed as household servants; and sometimes they were disposed of by will in ways that showed a genuine concern for their welfare. None could be chastised without the permission of the magistrates. Some the governor manumitted freely or on very easy terms — three women, for instance, upon condition that, taking turns each week, one of them should come to do his housework. Others, called 'half slaves,' worked week-and-week or month-and-month about for the Company and for themselves. As in the time of Governor Kieft free negroes could own real estate. Forty of them helped to compose the congregation at Stuyvesant's Bowery chapel and, it is recorded, grew deeply attached to Domine Selyns. They lived together, he wrote home, in a 'negro quarter.' It lay between the Kalck Hoek Pond and the Bowery.

Indentured servants of mature age, bound at first for seven, eight, or ten years, after 1660 for four years, swarmed in Virginia. At the time when there were only two thousand negroes in the colony Governor Berkeley estimated that fifteen hundred bondsmen arrived each year. In Massachusetts there were not nearly as many, yet there were a considerable number including hundreds of Scotchmen taken by Cromwell's troops in battle and sent to Boston to be sold for terms of seven or eight years. Even in its latter days New Netherland had few such persons although master-mechanics sometimes brought over workmen who had agreed to serve them for a certain time. The only records of shipments made by the home authorities relate to some companies of young people, chiefly girls, who were sent from the almshouse at Amsterdam to the orphan-house at New Amsterdam to be bound out to respectable families. As most of them married young, indoor servants were even harder to find and to keep than farm laborers.

The records of the burgomasters' court are complete enough to give, in conjunction with the governor's correspond-

ence and ordinances, a fair idea of the moral condition of his city. Plainly, it was much higher than that of Kieft's scattered community had been. It could well stand comparison with the condition of the English colonies, and it might shame many of the settlements which in modern days have been planted far from the mother-country of their founders. To the sins of the flesh, indeed, New Amsterdam was prone; but the devil as the father of violence found few recruits among its people, and the world in the sense of material gain did not appeal to them more strongly than to their neighbors.

Writing in 1664 Thomas Mun declared that the Dutch had 'well-near left' the 'swinish vice' of drunkenness while the English, who were said to have learned it of them, had fallen into a 'general leprosie of . . . piping, potting, feasting, fashions, and mis-spending of our time in idleness and pleasure.' In New Amsterdam drunkenness was still common but was no longer a cause for complaint against high-placed personages. The records of New Haven say that a Dutchman, bearing witness for a comrade who had been arrested there, explained that

> . . . at the Mannadoes they were not punished for drunkenness but used after they had been drunk to say, God forgive us, or be merciful to us, and that was enough.

On the other hand, drink was declared by the court to be a 'frivolous excuse' for the transgressions to which it led; and the authorities did all they could to limit the sale of intoxicants to white men and to prevent it altogether in the case of red men.

Abusive and slanderous language and insignificant acts of offence, like cutting trees on leased land, allowing pigs to damage fences, and attacking a neighbor with a slipper or a 'peach-tree twig,' were still the most common charges upon which men and women were brought into court, a fact that bears witness not to an especially quarrelsome but to a very simple-minded community in which the custom of settling small private quarrels by official arbitration always prevailed.

Once when Jan Vinje was sued for assault the court decided that the plaintiff had 'well deserved the beating he got.'

While quarrels like this one and broils in the public streets were not infrequent, burglaries were almost unknown and the many thefts referred to in the court records were pickings rather than stealings and, according to modern ideas, were very severely punished. Other recorded crimes include forgery very rarely, smuggling very often, and false entries at the custom-house; fraud in regard to the size of beer barrels, the purity of flour, and the weight of bread; the 'deceitful' packing of tobacco, the selling of 'measled hogs,' the robbery of Indians, and the shooting of pigeons in the forests on Sunday. With few exceptions these were small transgressions. In their larger dealings with one another the men of New Amsterdam seem to have been honest; and if they defrauded the West India Company whenever they could there were nowhere many persons in that age who considered smuggling a crime. So frequent was the 'corruption' of the officials who tried to collect the hated customs dues on Manhattan that at last the governor set 'faithful soldiers' to watch the discharge of freight, changed them daily, and promised a third share of the fine to any one who would report an attempt at smuggling. In 1661 he put a vessel in commission as a revenue cutter. Bakers were licensed quarterly; as their bread was exported their honesty was a commercial asset.

As in Kieft's time, sins of sensuality in varying degrees of shamefulness were frequent but even some that the courts do not recognize to-day were regarded as offences against public decency and were severely punished. Domine Polhemus wrote to the classis of Amsterdam, however, that one such case had been hushed up. This was undoubtedly because the woman was an unmarried daughter of Domine Schaats of Albany. Her fellow-sinner was Arendt Van Corlaer who was a married man. Stuyvesant wrote bitterly about the matter, saying that the child that had been christened Benoni, Son of Grief, ought to have been called

Barrabas. In early English days his own half-sister, Margriet Stuyvesant, then the widow of Jacobus Backer, had a child by a wealthy bachelor to whom she was betrothed but whose sudden death prevented their marriage. This seems to have involved her in no disgrace for she soon married another man.

Village life in the neighborhood of Manhattan was not much troubled by malefactors. Of New Utrecht it is written that nearly a year after its incorporation Nicasius De Sille, learning as *schout-fiscal* of the province that some one had 'done amiss in the village,' sent it 'half-a-dozen shackles with an iron rod and a good lock' in order 'to punish evil doers, frighten the vicious, and produce tranquillity for the good.'

In 1648 a tavern in New Amsterdam was closed because a man had been murdered there. In 1650 Hendrick Van Dyck, who had been *schout-fiscal* for five years, asserted that only two cases had occurred in his time deserving 'corporal punishment,' which must have meant capital punishment as physical chastisement was inflicted for many minor transgressions. But, if we may believe the *Breeden Raedt*, Van Dyck was not a conscientious officer, more than once failing to arrest deep-dyed criminals and once drinking with an imprisoned murderer until he got so drunk that the man escaped up the chimney. All in all, however, criminal cases were few, death sentences were very seldom pronounced, and were still more seldom carried out. Once the sentence of a soldier condemned to death for robbery was commuted to perpetual banishment in answer to the 'urgent solicitations' of the people at the place of execution. At another time a negress who had set fire to her owner's house was condemned to be bound to a stake and strangled and her body burned; then, after all the grisly preparations were made, at the last moment she was pardoned and returned to her master. Persons accused of grave crimes were occasionally threatened with the rack to extort confessions, and once or twice appear to have been subjected to it. The last recorded case of the use of torture in England occurred in 1640, but it was used in Virginia and, in the case of Indians, in New England. It is perhaps not

fanciful to divine a greater cheerfulness in the tone of life in New Netherland as contrasted with New England from the fact that the first recorded suicide in the Dutch province appears in the records of the year 1663, three years after the general court of Massachusetts thought it needful to pass a law saying that the bodies of all self-murderers should be buried in the common highway.

There was no regular prison in New Amsterdam — only a jail in the fort and detention rooms for temporary use in the Stadt Huis. The stocks, the pillory, and the wooden horse, working 'at the wheelbarrow' with the Company's slaves, whipping, branding, and the piercing of tongue or ears with hot irons (cruel punishments common in other colonies also), fines and temporary or permanent banishment — these served instead of our modern terms of imprisonment. A negro filled the office of executioner and whipper. Arrested debtors were permitted to live at a tavern if they would pay the bill; otherwise they languished in the Stadt Huis.

When a litigant ordered by the city court to pay a sum of money did not do so his goods were levied upon and, if not redeemed within a week, were sold in a curious way. The court officer lighted a candle, bidding proceeded as long as it held out to burn, and as its light expired the highest bidder secured the goods.

The minutes of the city court dealing with minor offences show, like the scanty remaining evidence in regard to the crimes judged by the higher tribunal, that mercy very often tempered justice after justice had pronounced its fiat. A case typical of many in the manner of its conclusion, recorded in the minutes of the year 1653, was that of a tapster named Jan Peck, or Peeck, — the same person who chanced to bequeath his name to Peeck's Kill, a creek flowing into the North River from the east, and thus to the village of Peekskill. The first entry reads:

> Cornelis Van Tienhoven as Sheriff of this city, represents to the Court that he has found drinking clubs on divers nights at the house of Jan Peck, with dancing and jumping and entertainment of disor-

derly people; also tapping during Preaching, and that there was a great noise made by drunkards, especially yesterday, Sunday, in this house, so that he was obliged to remove one to jail in a cart which was a most scandalous affair. He demands, therefore, that Jan Peck's license be annulled and that he pay a fine according to the ordinance and placards of the Rt. Hon'ble Director General and Council. The Worshipful Court having seen the remonstrance of the Sheriff against Jan Peck, who being legally summoned did not appear, decided, on account of his disorderly housekeeping and evil life, tippling, dancing, gaming, and other irregularities, together with tapping at night and on Sunday during Preaching, to annul his license and that he shall not tap any more until he shall have vindicated himself.

At the next session of the court Jan Peck 'by petition' requested leave to tap as the court officer had executed judgment. Decision was then postponed, but later it was written:

On the instant request both oral and written, of Jan Peeck to be allowed to pursue his business as before inasmuch as he is burthened with a houseful of children and more besides, the Court having considered his complaint and that he is an old Burgher, have granted his prayer on condition that he comport himself properly and without blame, and not violate either one or the other of the placards, on pain of having his business stopped without favor and himself punished as he deserve, should he be found again in fault.

At a later time, after Peeck's death, his wife was banished for repeating the old offences. Typical records of civil suits, all brought during the year 1653, read as follows:

Roelof Jansen, pltf., v/s Philip Gereardy, deft., complains that defts. dog has bitten him in the daytime, as may be seen by the wound, and he claims for loss of time and surgeon's fees 12 fl. [florins or guilders]. Deft. says pltf. may kill said dog and that pltf. has not lost any time or work on that account; he, deft., has already sent pltf. by his wife 4 lbs. of butter and is still willing to give him as a charity 4 fl. more. The demand of pltf. is therefore denied.

Auken Jansen, pltf., v/s Augustyn Heermans, deft., demands payment of a balance of one hundred guilders in beavers according to contract for building deft's house. Deft. says that pltf. has not fulfilled his contract; secondly, that he has spoiled his timber and the work; thirdly, that now, in short, to prevent all disputes, it was agreed at pltf's request that he should give pltf. one beaver more, and

if pltf. will not accept this, then he claims damages sustained by him. Pltf. denies such agreement; says he will not be satisfied with one beaver. The Court do hereby appoint Pieter Wolfersen and Frans Jansen, both house-carpenters, to inspect work and if possible to effect a settlement, or otherwise to report their opinion in writing to the Board.

Thomas Schondtwart, pltf., v/s Antony Jansen, deft., says that deft. whose daughter he has married refuses to give him what he had promised and is therefore, according to the written demand, due him. Burgomasters and Schepens having heard the demand and answer concerning the father's promise, refer the same to David Provoost and Hendrick Kip to examine into the dispute, its origin and progress, and the same by all practicable means to settle and finally decide, and the said arbitrators are empowered, if necessary, to associate a third person with them to whose award parties shall be obliged to submit without power to institute any further suit.

Elsie Hendrickx, pltf., v/s Jacob Backer, deft. Deft. in default. Pltf. demands, as deft. fails to prove according to order of 8th December last that the 2 beavers which he received for the soap were returned, that the rendered judgment may be put in execution. The Court having heard the pltf's request, which consists with law and equity, do order and authorize the Officer to levy execution either on soap or anything else to the satisfaction of the pltf. with costs of suit.

The desire to gain or to retain a less than honest penny was a much more prolific source of small transgressions in New Amsterdam than idleness or sloth. All the people of the province, as the West India Company once remarked, understood that they must be 'inclined to work' if they expected to become 'great lords' or even to put bread in their mouths. According to their own witness the earlier immigrants had come 'naked and poor' from Holland, and this was well, for the best pioneers were 'farmers and laborers, foreigners and exiles, men inured to toil and poverty.' Prosperous though many grew before the Dutch days of the province came to an end, their wills and inventories indicate no large fortunes. Probably not one New Netherlander had reached a point where, had he so desired, he could have supported his household on the garnered fruits of antecedent industry. The

burgomasters and *schepens* whose prayer for salaries the governor granted in 1654 were, he said in justification of the act, 'for the most part persons who must maintain their houses and families by trade or farming or mechanical labor.' Indeed, in the city as in the villages and on the farms everybody labored, man and woman, gentle and simple, the richest and the poorest; and no kind of toil was thought derogatory. A soap boiler, as the records show, could obtain the Great Burgher-Right if he had fifty guilders to pay for it.

After the Indian raid of 1655, when Stuyvesant lost his temper trying to get enough money to redeem the unfortunate captives, he averred that taxes might easily be increased,

> . . . as the sumptuous dress, the profuse consumption of strong drink, with the consequent laziness rendering it difficult to procure laborers for reasonable wages, do not suppose inability to contribute to the public burdens; rather, a malevolent unwillingness arising from an imaginary liberty in a new and, as some pretend, a free country.

In such a country there are always those who declare that others will not work for 'reasonable' pay. It is well to set against Stuyvesant's charges the plea put forth by the citizens when, after the first Esopus war, they asked for an enlargement of their burgher-right. They had suffered much, they said, through their 'voluntary services against enemies at divers times for the public service,' a task from which 'all surrounding places' had been exempt. But the main cause why they were not more prosperous was the aid they had to give to the many people who, losing their property and fearing to lose their lives, had fled penniless to New Amsterdam. In this work of mercy they had contracted debts larger than they could discharge. The whole burden now came upon those who had still 'any means,' and it was heavy for, they said,

> . . . we are bound in conscience not to see any one of our Netherland nation perish through poverty but constantly to sustain and aid him, whether by disbursement of money, provisions, or by new advances of goods, which they so doing cannot pay — now nor never.

Stuyvesant's description of his people was evidently the outburst of a would-be autocratic governor whose power they had effectually curtailed; yet the fact that even he could speak such words shows the extent of the difference in well-being between his little city and the rough village that Van Twiller and Kieft had ruled.

During the latter years of New Netherland a number of burgher families arrived from Holland bringing property with them. Like the humblest agricultural laborers they represented the industrial classes of Europe. New Netherland's tinge of aristocratic blood has often been exaggerated. Only three or four scions of the old Netherland aristocracy ever saw its shores. Its proportion of those who would have been called gentlefolk by Englishmen was not larger than that of Connecticut where the distinctive 'Mr.' was prefixed to only eight on a list of two hundred and thirty-one names of those who between 1650 and 1660 took the freeman's oath. It is the eye of fancy not of history which, looking back to Stuyvesant's province, sees a little forest of family trees transplanted from the choicest corners of the social soil of Holland and France. The plebeian shoots that were brought instead were better fitted for New World planting. At once they developed into wide-branched family stocks many of which still bear good fruit.

Of aristocratic feeling there was still no deeper tinge than of aristocratic blood. In official circles, of course, ranks and degrees were respected, and outside of them personal force, shown in the accumulation of wealth or otherwise, won personal distinction. But the social soil was still unstratified, and the failure of the attempt to establish the Great Burgher-Right proves that the people were content to have it so. Even Stuyvesant did not think of framing sumptuary regulations while in Massachusetts they grew stricter as the years went on; in 1651, for example, the general court expressed its 'utter detestation and dislike' of the 'intolerable' fact that people of 'mean condition, educations, and callings' took upon themselves 'the garb of gentlemen,' and under penalty

of presentation by the grand jury forbade all persons, except those who belonged to magistrates' families or whose 'visible estates' amounted to £200, to wear certain articles of dress and adornment which the statute carefully listed.

Elsewhere in the Dutch province conditions were the same as in its little capital or even simpler. It is a curiously false tradition that still leads many writers to reiterate such statements as we find, to take only two among many recent examples, in James K. Hosmer's *History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom* and Goldwin Smith's *United States*. Hosmer says, with astonishing inaccuracy, that the Dutch were long enough in possession in New York 'to stamp upon the settlement an impress not at all democratic,' and that 'along the Hudson the patroons . . . had set up a feudalism as marked as that of the *seigneuries* which the French at the same time established on the St. Lawrence.' And Goldwin Smith declares that New Netherland was 'dominated by the patroons, magnates invested with vast grants of land, who exercised seigniorial sway and lived in seigniorial state.' Vast grants of land in New Netherland had meant merely vast grants of the wilderness where, by the year 1664, only a few hundreds of acres had been reclaimed. Only some nine patroonships had been established; only one, Rensselaerswyck, had succeeded; and all the others had ceased to exist before the English came in except Van der Donck's which was moribund and possibly the one west of the Hudson between Achter Kol and Tappaen of which very little was ever said. Moreover, the patroons of Rensselaerswyck had remained in Holland. The relatives who managed their American property gathered but a small revenue and did not live in a way that even remotely resembled seigniorial state. If they exercised seigniorial sway over a shifting, troublesome body of tenants it was in a very modest and democratic New World fashion and, in Stuyvesant's later years, under his supervision. And, apart from the influence which by mere personal force of character some of the authorities at Rensselaerswyck ex-

ercised over the Indians, neither they nor any patroon, not even Captain De Vries, helped to dominate the province. It was not until English days that great landed estates, barring Rensselaerswyck only, began to assume any importance in the Dutch province, not until the eighteenth century that they played any conspicuous part in its history.

When, however, it is said that gentlefolk were few in New Netherland and New England it must be remembered that the defining line was then drawn in Europe according to mere facts of birth, not of education or refinement; and also that everywhere in America the proportion of educated, well-bred people was larger, the general average of intelligence much higher, than in European lands. If social pinnacles were lacking, so was that great solid, stolid, sodden substratum of hopeless, helpless ignorance and indigence upon which in the Old World the successive strata of class and caste reposed. The constant lament of all the colonies that white servants and laborers could not be obtained proves, not merely the breadth of New World opportunities for the poor, but also a much larger proportion of intellectual capacity than any European land could show.

Again, though Holland did not send to New Netherland what England sent to New England — thousands of its best in a truer than the old feudal sense — neither did it send thousands of its worst as England did to its more southerly colonies. Mixed though the population of New Netherland was in respect to nationalities, it was not nearly as mixed in other ways as that of Virginia. In Virginia, as the writings of the time declare, during the first half of the seventeenth century sons of great families, hot-brained adventurers seeking for gold, and 'unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies' mingled with many reprieved prisoners, young women 'pressed' and transported willy-nilly, and bands of boys and girls shipped from London because they 'lay starving in the streets.' In 1670 the assembly protested against the 'great numbers of felons and other desperate villains' then being sent over, said that the 'horror'

still remained of the 'barbarous designs' with which 'those villains' had attempted in 1663 to subvert the government, and prohibited for the future the landing of any 'jail-birds.' People of these sorts were never shipped from Holland to its province.

For all its democratic temper and its simple ways of life New Amsterdam, as its English invaders found it, was not an illiterate or unmannerly place. This might be premised from a knowledge of its fatherland. In Holland university education was not only better but much more general than in other countries, birth into the middle classes was much more certain to insure a liberal upbringing, and larger numbers of the poor received elementary instruction. Moreover, commercial life, which involves not merely varied interests and intercourse with other lands but also a concentration of the people in cities, is more humanizing, liberalizing, civilizing than agricultural, pastoral, or military life. In mediæval times the lamps of learning, art, and manners were kept alight in the great commercial cities of Germany, not in its princes' courts and camps. In the Netherlands during the same period the burgher was the chief figure as the landowner was in England, the feudal baron in France; and many of the members of the feudal aristocracy also lived in the cities, which meant both that they too grew civilized and that class lines were less strictly drawn than in other lands. Then as time went on and commercial Holland, shaking off the fetters of Spain, grew free, tolerant, and hospitable, its sons became wider in sympathy and more receptive in mind than others, better acquainted with foreign places, men, and ideas, more accustomed to the unhampered discussion of all kinds of subjects, more advanced in their habits of life, more skilled in the amenities of living. So unrivalled, in fact, was the progress made by these people whose wit, as Temple explains, had been 'sharpened by commerce' and the 'conversation of cities,' that Holland not only stood far in advance of the rest of the world in the higher branches of intellectual en-

deavor and in the degree of material comfort its people enjoyed but was also several generations ahead as regarded the average of intelligence and mental cultivation.

With a large contingent from the well educated burgher classes of Holland New Netherland received many Huguenots of a similar kind. A number of its inhabitants are known to have been university graduates, more may be thought such upon the witness of their accomplishments, and many others had had, like Governor Stuyvesant, that Latin school training which in Holland meant a real knowledge of mathematics and the classics. Some of the New Netherlanders wrote Latin as readily as the most cultivated New Englanders; it was the language employed in drawing up some of Governor Kieft's land patents as well as letters; and the domines of Manhattan spoke it with a fluency that amazed their English associates in the early days of New York.

Among the settlers of humble origin the farmers were often illiterate, the townsfolk less often. To judge of this matter by the relative number of names and marks attached to public papers may not be to apply an absolutely accurate test; for it has been said that on early New England documents signed by a number of persons marks sometimes represent the names of men who are known to have been able to write — marks affixed perhaps by others in their absence. Yet it is as good a test as can be devised; it is certainly to be trusted as proving who could if not always who could not write; and it is probably altogether accurate where the total of the names affixed to a paper is not large. As low a level of illiteracy as, in this manner, the surviving documents of New Netherland reveal is shown by a paper signed by Netherlanders and Frenchmen at Boswyck in 1662 with five written names and thirteen marks, and by another signed at the Wallabout in 1663 with six names and nine marks. In 1643 those who spoke for the commonalty of New Amsterdam regarding the election of the Eight Men signed with twenty-four names and nineteen marks. At Breuckelen in 1663 nineteen names and nine marks were signed together. But

the last formal petition of the people of New Amsterdam, drawn up, as will be told, in 1664 when the English were at their gates, shows sixty-nine signatures and only nine marks. No paper as important as this would have been signed in contemporary Boston by so democratic a company of men of all ranks and callings; but if such a thing had chanced, the proportion of marks to names would certainly have been as large. Forty-eight 'free burghers' of New Haven signed an agreement in 1639 with thirty-five names and thirteen marks; and at Andover in 1664 five out of eleven members of a coroner's jury could not write their names. As for the English in New Netherland, they set seven names and seven marks to the oath of allegiance taken by Thomas Pell's companions at Westchester in 1656, twenty-three names and eighteen marks to a paper drawn up at Hempstead in the same year, and eleven names and nine marks to another signed at Jamaica in 1661. In 1660 the sheriff of the town of Gravesend could not write his name which was Charles Morgan.

The average of feminine education was much higher among the Dutch than among the English. A commercial training often followed the elementary schooling that girls in general received, and a classical training was not uncommon. Tradition says that the young daughters of one De Milt, a baker, were the best Latin scholars in New Netherland, not excepting its clergymen. Sarah, the wife of Doctor Kierstede and the daughter of Annetje Jans, was appointed official interpreter because she was more skilled in the Indian tongues than any one else. It was usual for women as well as men to plead their own cases in court. They were active in commercial life not only as shopkeepers but also as merchants in the wider sense, ship-owners, and traders with the Indians in the wilderness. It was common for a wife to hold her husband's power of attorney during his absences, to assist him in his business, and to carry it on after his death even though it were the management of a farrier's shop on the one hand, of a large farm on the other. Both the Great

and the Small Burgher-Right, as has been told, were open to women.

With this freedom there went, of course, a corresponding degree of consideration at home. The wife was the head of the household, supreme in domestic affairs and her husband's equal in the eyes of the law which recognized a community in goods when no ante-nuptial contract existed. Such a contract often assured that the wife and the husband should inherit absolutely from each other. Rights of primogeniture did not exist and daughters inherited equally with sons. English observers noted at the time that the equal way in which the laws divided property in Holland worked against the upgrowth of an aristocracy of idleness. Conversely, in the English-American colonies the difficulty of idleness worked with other inescapable New World influences against the perpetuation of English customs of primogeniture.

The ordinances of Stuyvesant's day as well as of early English days show that on Manhattan children were no more strictly disciplined than in Holland. There, as Bradford had written, the 'great licentiousness of youth' was one of the reasons that decided the Pilgrim Fathers to try their fortunes in America; and, as Blok records when writing of the middle years of the century, all foreign observers were amazed at the liberty granted to children and the free behavior of servants.

The mental caliber of the New Netherlanders may be tested by reading the bulky volumes which contain translations of their public papers — popular petitions, complaints, and expositions, official journals, reports, manifestoes, and letters. Many of them besides the *Remonstrance* of 1649 have the high merits of logical arrangement, lucidity, and dignity. All have a simplicity in strong contrast to the turgid rhetoric in which the New Englander often delighted. Some have a flavor of scholarship, literary skill, and individuality which persists even in the alien language. If none of them has as vivid a picturesqueness as the New Englander and the Vir-

ginian now and again achieved, on the other hand those that deal with the features and the products of the little-known Western world are much more sane and scientific in spirit than contemporary essays in English. If none has the same sort of historical value as the chronicles of Bradford and Winthrop, some have a descriptive value unmatched in other early colonial records. Among these are the excellent paper called *Information in Regard to Taking up Land in New Netherland* written by Cornelis Van Tienhoven, De Vries's directions for mariners, and Van der Donck's *Description of New Netherland.* This, indeed, is an exceptionally intelligent book of its kind, discriminating wisely between established facts and mere information received from sources possibly unreliable. It contains no statements that can be bracketed, for example, with John Josselyn's where he says that porcupines in America laid eggs, that frogs sat on their haunches a full foot in height, and that barley in a poor soil degenerated into oats. If Van der Donck repeated Indian tales of the marvels of the forest he doubted their truth, questioning, for instance, whether unicorns existed in New Netherland although all the world then believed that they existed somewhere. His story of whales seen far up the North River was undoubtedly true. Keen-eyed and sensible, he spoke what seems to have been the first warning against the destruction of American forests, wrote of plants and crops like a botanist and an agriculturist, and, dwelling at length upon the nature and habits of the beaver, produced a chapter which deserves to be cited among the best natural history monographs of the time. Martin Cregier's workmanlike *Journal of the Esopus War,* again, is not nearly as amusing to read as John Underhill's account of the Pequot War in his *News from America* but gives a much better account of the way in which an Indian campaign was conducted. In short, if we look not for self-conscious literary essays but for papers containing information about current conditions we are so well pleased with the manner of writing of the New Netherlanders that it seems doubly unfortunate that none of them compiled a chronicle

of the fortunes of the province which might be matched with Bradford's and Winthrop's.

With mere literary intent they wrote, so far as we know, nothing whatever in prose. In theology, again, they left scarcely anything to be weighed against the large legacy of New England except a little Latin treatise which Megapolensis composed to refute the arguments of his Jesuit acquaintance Father Le Moyne. Three adventurers in verse, however, New Netherland could claim — Jacob Steendam, Nicasius De Sille the *schout-fiscal* of the province, and Domine Selyns.

'Jacob Steendam, Noch Vaster' is the punning way in which this poet wrote his name, *steendam* meaning 'stone dam' and *noch vaster* 'still firmer.' He had served the West India Company for a number of years and had already published a volume of poems before he came, about the year 1650, to New Netherland where he owned houses in the city but seems to have worked as an upholsterer and trader and as a planter on Long Island. In 1659, to excite interest in the province, he caused to be published in Holland a *Complaint of New Amsterdam* (*Klaght van Nieuw Amsterdam*) which represents the city, the daughter of Amsterdam and the God of War, abandoned by her parents to her indifferent sponsors the directors of the West India Company, and falling a victim to predatory swine — that is, to the English. Returning to Holland Steendam issued in 1661 a longer poem called *The Praise of New Netherland* (*'T Lof van Nuw-Nederland*), dedicated to Secretary Van Ruyven, and in 1662 a set of so-called *Spurring Verses* (*Prikkel Vaersen*) urging colonists toward the Delaware country. He appears to have died, probably some ten years later, at Batavia in the island of Java where he was serving as a missionary, comforter of the sick, and master of the East India Company's orphan-house. He is still remembered among the poets of Holland.

Nicasius De Sille wrote in prose a brief *History of the First Beginnings of New Utrecht,* where he was one of the first settlers, building himself in 1657 a stone house that stood

until 1850. In the town records, which he kept until 1660, lie embalmed three short poems — a pastoral, a psalm, and an epitaph on the first child born in the town, a little Cortelyou.

Much more voluminous is the legacy of Domine Selyns, a highly accomplished scholar who composed — often in Latin, once in Greek — about two hundred poems, chiefly epitaphs, epithalamiums, and other 'occasional' verses. Most of them date from days when New Netherland had become New York, but in 1663 he wrote two nuptial odes for the Latin Schoolmaster, Domine Luyck, and a long poem on the Esopus wars.

None of these essays in verse is nearly as ambitious as those of the Bostonian Anne Bradstreet, published in 1650, or as Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*, first printed in 1662. In their modest way, however, they make a nearer approach to literary excellence; and, envisaging the things of this world cheerfully and often gayly and the things of the next world sanely and hopefully, they convince us that their authors would have been pleasant and profitable persons to know.

Taken as a whole, the bulk of the written legacies of New Netherland and the number of the practised quills they reveal are rather surprising when we remember that it held only seven or eight thousand people of both sexes and all ages and that none of them was moved to write for the instruction of posterity, for the moral edification of the Old World, or even for his neighbors' spiritual improvement. This is true when only the documents that have been printed are considered. Many others that must be interesting are still unpublished, notably the correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer covering the years between 1656 and 1674, and a journal called the *New Netherland Mercury* which he regularly sent to the owners of the patroonship in Holland.

In short, it is not more justifiable to think of New Amsterdam as a slow-witted, illiterate place than as a drowsy, uneventful place. The more closely we read its chronicles in the words of its own founders and fosterers the more clearly

we perceive how civilized, how modern it was in its essential habits of mind. If an American of to-day could be transported back two hundred and fifty years he would find himself more comfortably at home on Manhattan than anywhere else. In some of the English settlements he would have the chance to exercise more direct political power, but in none excepting Rhode Island would he find as much personal freedom, and in none at all a general mental attitude, a prevailing temper, as similar to the temper of the America of to-day.

Some of Governor Stuyvesant's most active friends and antagonists died or left Manhattan before the English entered to possess it.

Adriaen Van der Donck died in 1655, two years after he returned from Holland. The well-known Onderdonk family of New York and New Jersey is descended from his son Andrew, and others called Vandunck or Verdunck also trace back, most probably, to the people's tribune or to his brother Daniel. His property, which included the patroonship north of the Harlem River and lands on Long Island, he bequeathed to his wife who soon remarried with a man named O'Neale and followed her father, the Reverend Mr. Doughty, to Virginia. She and her new husband were confirmed in the possession of the patroonship by the first English governor. But it was soon divided and sold, portions of it forming in after days parts of the manors of Fordham and Philipsburgh. Still later, part of Philipsburgh was known as the 'lower manor' of the Van Cortlandt family by contrast with their larger estate farther north; and the Van Cortlandt house, now a museum in Van Cortlandt Park, stands near the spot where Van der Donck's is believed to have stood. The stream called the Sawkill took its name from his sawmill.

One of the names of his short-lived patroonship, *de Jonkheer's Landt*, survives as the name of the city of Yonkers, bestowed upon the township, which had previously been called Philipsburgh, in the year 1788. This name, his writ-

ings, and the map that bears his own name are Van der Donck's memorials; but only antiquaries remember what Yonkers means, and even the historians who most highly praise the *Description of New Netherland* usually ignore the fact that Van der Donck also wrote the people's *Remonstrance* and *Petition* of 1649.

It was because he intended to enlarge his *Description* by a history of the colonists in New Netherland that he deferred its publication until he returned to the province, then asking leave of the West India Company to examine the official records in Fort Amsterdam. The Company wrote Stuyvesant to be cautious in this 'difficult matter' lest its own weapons be used against it and it be thereby drawn into 'new troubles and quarrels'; and apparently Stuyvesant refused to let Van der Donck see the records, for the *Description* was printed without an historical chapter. Thus posterity was deprived of what would certainly have been a most valuable possession even though, as has been shown to be probable, the records antedating the administration of Governor Kieft had already disappeared.

David Provoost died in 1656. A versatile person who had been schoolmaster and notary public, a trader with the Indians and New Englanders, commissary in charge of Fort Good Hope, and *schout* of a Long Island district, he is chiefly remembered as the founder of a notable family and the ancestor of the first Episcopal bishop of New York. Brian Newton, the military officer of English birth who had come out with Stuyvesant and had sometimes served as his intermediary when dealing with his English neighbors, asked in 1661 to resign his commission and in 1662 was discharged and, apparrently, returned to Europe. Lady Deborah Moody of Gravesend died in 1659, and in 1662 her son Sir Henry who shortly before had moved to Virginia and who left no children.

Wouter Van Twiller died in Holland in 1656 or 1657. Cornelis Melyn, who had removed with one of his sons to New Haven before he sold his Staten Island patroonship to the

West India Company, continued to visit New Amsterdam where other members of his family remained. The last mention of his name in the records occurs in 1663. Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, having refused to serve as vice-director when Stuyvesant was ordered to reinstate him, also betook himself after a time to New Haven where he soon died, probably in 1658. Isaac Allerton likewise died in 1658 at New Haven where he owned one of the finest houses in the town, described as ornamented with four porches. His son, known in Virginia as Colonel Isaac Allerton, there founded a family which long ranked with the most prominent, and after serving for a time in the assembly was appointed to the governor's council in 1687.

In 1656 Dr. La Montagne was appointed vice-director at Fort Orange. Dirck Van Schelluyne also left New Amsterdam, to serve as secretary of Rensselaerswyck. Domine Selyns asked leave to go back to Holland at the expiration of his four years' term of service and departed in 1664, not then intending to return as he did after a lapse of nineteen years. His place was taken by Samuel Megapolensis, a son of the elder minister, who had studied for three years at Harvard College and passed through the departments of medicine and theology at the University of Leyden, and had recently come back to Manhattan.

Augustine Herrman, after concluding his mission in Maryland in 1659, went to Virginia to clear the government of New Netherland from the charge of exciting the Indians against the English. On his way home he agreed with the governor of Maryland to make a detailed map of that colony and Virginia. The first of its kind, it was printed in London in 1673. A copy of it may be seen in the Grenville collection in the British Museum, adorned with Herrman's autograph and portrait. In payment for it he received a large grant of land at the head of Chesapeake Bay, now in Cecil and New Castle counties, where he established several manorial estates the chief of which he named for the land of his birth — Nova Bohemia or Bohemia Manor. This name is still remembered,

the brick house that Herrman built stood until 1786, and it is said that the circumference of his deer park may still be traced. He removed from Manhattan to his new manor with his family, their tutor, and their servants in 1661. Later, when Lord Baltimore had given him other grants, his properties amounted in all to some thirty thousand acres. In 1666 the Maryland assembly passed an act naturalizing him and his sons — the first act of the sort known to have been framed in any of the colonies.

Family traditions assert that Herrman revisited Manhattan while Stuyvesant was still in power, quarrelled with him, was imprisoned in the fort, feigned insanity, asked for the company of his favorite horse, and on the back of this wonderful steed leaped from a window of his prison, swam the North River, and thus escaped from the governor's clutches. The records of New Amsterdam do not mention such an episode, but later writings do say that Herrman came back and quarrelled with Stuyvesant. He had himself painted with his horse, and when it died he gave it honorable burial in the family graveyard at Bohemia Manor. The portrait was burned in later years but an amusingly artless copy of it, still owned by Herrman's descendants, shows him in a beruffled red coat standing by a white horse which is bleeding profusely from its nostrils as though it had indeed just performed some difficult feat.

Herrman, wrote Van der Donck, was 'an ingenious man and a lover of the country,' meaning New Netherland. His wife was Jannekin (Jenny) Varleth, probably a sister of Stuyvesant's brother-in-law Nicholas. Judith Varleth, the sister who was accused of witchcraft at Hartford, married her brother's stepson, the youngest of Stuyvesant's nephews, Nicholas Bayard. Brought to New Amsterdam as a child, he was destined to lead a long and stormy life in the city of New York. Under the Dutch he served as clerk in the office of the provincial secretary, as English secretary to the governor, and as commissary of customs. If tradition may be quoted again, he was a frivolous young man, too fond of horse-racing,

dancing, and other amusements. History shows that he was well educated, speaking and writing fluently Dutch, French, and English, and that in his maturer years he was energetic and passionate, an ambitious politician, and sometimes an unscrupulous partisan.

REFERENCE NOTES

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CHAPTER XV

THE FALL OF NEW AMSTERDAM

1663, 1664

(Governor Stuyvesant)

Whether we turn us for assistance to the north or the south, to the east or the west, 'tis all in vain! . . . If on the other hand we examine our internal strength, alas! it is so feeble and impotent that, unless we ascribe the circumstance to the mercy of God, we cannot sufficiently express our astonishment that the foe should have granted us so long a reprieve. — *Remonstrance of the People of New Amsterdam to the Governor and Council. September, 1664.*

Cornelis Van Ruyven who was receiver-general as well as secretary of the province, Nicasius De Sille the *schout-fiscal*, and Johannes De Decker who had been for a time vice-director at Fort Orange were the only members of Stuyvesant's council during his last years as director-general of New Netherland. His real helpers in his struggle to preserve his province for Holland were his people speaking through their local magistracies and their militia officers and, when special need required, through representatives elected for the purpose.

This change in local conditions, the growing prosperity of the province, and the state of affairs in Holland afford good ground for the belief that if neither the English nor the French had seized New Netherland it would soon have grown into a self-reliant and flourishing Dutch colony. Adam Smith was right when, looking back at it after the lapse of a century, he declared that even under the control of Holland it must soon have become a 'considerable colony.' For the development

of character, energy, and ambition in its people it had been better served by the neglect of the West India Company than it could have been by a more careful paternalism. It had grown slowly but more rapidly and healthfully than Canada, the type of a paternally supported province. Its people at large had achieved more influence, more real power, than those of Virginia, despite their assembly, then possessed; and their voice was not muffled and weakened, as was the popular voice in Massachusetts, by theologico-political dissensions. Already, as Stuyvesant complained to his superiors, some of his people boasted that they lived in a 'free country.' And he was now well aware that the trend toward freedom could not be withstood. He hoped, he wrote in 1662, that the privileges granted by the city of Amsterdam to its new colony on the South River would not make it 'too insubordinate,' for the places planted at an earlier day could claim, by virtue of their patents and deeds, 'all immunities, privileges, and liberties' secured by any other; and he asked to be instructed how to act 'in an emergency' if, because of rights already granted or to be granted to New Amstel, New Amsterdam should demand the same.

Even the West India Company confessed that New Netherland was no longer a 'little colony' but a 'rising republic.' Nevertheless its colonists were very wise in their desire to rid themselves altogether of its yoke. Only thus could they feel sure of keeping and enlarging the powers and privileges which, because of its weakness, it had unwillingly granted them. This is clearly shown by the history of the pastoral and agricultural colony which soon grew up around the port of call established in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company as a watering-place for ships passing to and from the Indies; for in aims, methods, and spirit the two great trading associations were essentially alike. Just as in New Netherland and Brazil the West India Company, so in South Africa the East India Company failed because of niggardliness to strengthen its people, and hampered and embittered them by its selfish and arbitrary policy.

From the first the settlers resented its autocratic attitude; but, stronger than the West India Company, it continued to ignore their plaints and demands. As late as 1779 — only twenty-one years before the Company perished in the continental upheaval effected by Napoleon, thirty-five before Cape Colony passed finally to the English — the descendants of its early settlers were still begging for what the New Netherlanders had demanded more than a hundred years earlier. They begged for greater security and for such freedom as the citizens of the fatherland enjoyed; and the spokesmen of its owners answered, in a way to which virtual parallels may be found in the letters of the owners of New Netherland:

> It would be a mere waste of words to dwell on the remarkable distinction to be drawn between burghers whose ancestors nobly fought for and conquered their freedom from tyranny . . . and such as are named burghers here, who have been permitted, as matter of grace, to have a residence in a land of which possession has been taken by the Sovereign Power, there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors, and shoemakers.

In 1663, however, the Dutchmen in America had much more reason to hope for autonomy under the direct supervision of their *Patria* than had at any time the Dutchmen in Africa. The West India Company was almost at its last gasp and was surrounded by enemies eager to deal it a finishing stroke. Keenly conscious now of the value of its province, especially as a factor in the struggle to evade or override the trading laws of England, it was trying to people the parts between the North and South rivers with emigrants from the Netherlands and from France, was loudly calling upon the government for aid, and in broadsides addressed nominally to the government but really to the public was clamorously telling of the 'tyranny and violence' displayed by the New Englanders toward its colonists. But although the restoration of Charles II had revived the hopes of the Orangist party in Holland, the Arminian party under the leadership of De Witt was still in firm control of public affairs; and, always hostile to the

West India Company, it was now determined to destroy it and to build up New Netherland under a better form of government into a domain of greater national value. These intentions may be read in the words and between the lines of certain books and pamphlets of the time which treat of the problems of colonization and set forth the advantages to colonies of self-government and free trade. One of the most important is called *Short Account (Kort Verhael) of New Netherland's Situation . . . and Peculiar Fitness for Population;* another, *Netherland Glorified by a Restoration of Commerce.* This is a conversation between a countryman, a burgher, and a seaman in which the seaman interprets the story of the dealings of the West India Company with New Netherland. The province, he explains, had suffered because the Company, unable to colonize it and to maintain its trade, had nevertheless the right to exclude all others. In such matters the government should take the initiative and should make sure that for their free development colonies be permitted as large a measure of autonomy as possible. If the general government could not find money for such a fostering of commerce, as it did to keep up armies for the protection of commerce, the cities of the fatherland could find it, lending at interest to individual settlers and reserving to themselves for a time the trade of the colony, after which time — twenty-five or thirty years at most — trade should be free to all inhabitants. Only under a right system of self-government could a colony flourish, the fatherland giving it first assistance until it was well started.

All this was excellent if belated theorizing, full of hope for New Netherland to eyes which did not look abroad. But meanwhile the disputing factions were leaving the province unprotected just at the time when the desire of the English to possess it was waxing strong and taking definite shape.

This desire formed part of that more definite course in colonial administration which began with the accession of Charles II and the establishment of Clarendon's influence over

commercial affairs. Consequently it was bound up with the policy of antagonism to Holland as the great commercial rival of England which prevailed during the early part of the reign of Charles, as it had in the time of the Commonwealth, and was soon to force the Dutch into another naval war.

Before the end of the year 1660, as has been told, the commercial interests of the realm and its dependencies were confided to the care of three bodies — a small Committee for Trade and Plantations composed of members of the privy council, which together with the secretary of state for the southern department held all actual power in regard to the colonies, and two larger advisory boards, a Council for Foreign Plantations of forty-eight members and a Council of Trade of sixty-two. The composition of these two councils, which had many members in common, shows the growing influence of the commercial classes in national and international affairs, for besides high-placed officials they included merchants, ship-masters, and capitalists engaged in colonial enterprises.

Difficult tasks were cut out for the committee and the councils. The most obvious and insistent was the enforcement of the Navigation Acts, for New England ignored them, Virginia hotly resented and openly transgressed them, and the English West Indies, deprived of their commerce by a dearth of those English vessels in which alone it could now be conducted, cried out that they were indeed 'hard pinched': their ports were almost empty while those of their French neighbors were 'crowded with shipping' as never before. Furthermore, the New Englanders were growing wool to the probable future detriment of Englishmen at home. Each of the New England colonies was on bad terms with its neighbors, especially in regard to boundary lines. Connecticut and New Haven were disputing about the consolidation effected by the charter that Winthrop had obtained. Great numbers of the people of Massachusetts were dissatisfied with its government, and this government was thought to be disloyal to the crown. In 1661 it had spoken loyally enough. It then pro-

claimed the king and by the hand of Governor Endicott signed an address to him which began:

> Illustrious Sir,
>
> That majesty and benignity both sat upon the throne whereunto your outcasts made their former address, witness the second eucharistical approach unto the best of kings, who to other titles of royalty common to him with other gods among men delighted herein more peculiarly to conform himself to the God of Gods in that he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted. . . . Your just title to the crown enthronizeth you in our consciences, your graciousness in our affections; that inspireth us unto duty, this naturalizeth unto loyalty; thence we call you lord, hence a saviour. . . .

The godlike king, however, wanted concrete proof of reverence — actual obedience to his expressed desire that Massachusetts should recognize his sovereignty in the conduct of its government and its courts, respect the laws of trade, and abolish those sectarian tests for the suffrage which excluded from civil rights and public life members of the established church of England. Instead, he got only a semblance of compliance even when, reiterating his wishes, he confirmed the charter of the colony.

Even at this period of crescent commercial ambition and antagonism to the Dutch, a Dutch-American colony in another situation might not have been thought by the king's advisers a possession to be strongly coveted. The situation of New Netherland made it seem indispensable. That it cut across the territories granted, from sea to sea, to Massachusetts and Connecticut merely accentuated the main fact that it embraced the most desirable and strategically the most important parts of the far-stretched region where the English plantations had been set. Unless the English owned Hudson's River they could not gain military control of this region for the checking of the French; and as long as river and harbor remained in Dutch hands they could not profit by the fur trade of the western wilderness, nor, a still more important fact, could they enforce the laws of trade in the colonies to the north and the south. Cromwell had understood this

when he sent out the expedition of 1654; and of course the fact that he had afterwards recognized the right of Holland to its province weighed nothing in the balances of royalty restored.

To prove the right of England to the coveted territory baseless tales like Plowden's story of Argall's early visit were revived while others seem to have been freshly invented. For example, Samuel Maverick, an active, intelligent man who had settled in Massachusetts before Winthrop and his people arrived and had always been in opposition to its theocratic government, ought to have known something about the true history of New Netherland for he had had business dealings with Governor Kieft as agent of the West India Company. Yet, returning to England at the time of the Restoration, he then wrote, in a treatise called a *Brief Description of New England*, that in the year 1630 when the Dutch ship *Eendraght* on its way home from Manhattan was detained at Plymouth the Hollanders had relinquished 'any title they had or might have' to Hudson's River, and that soon afterwards an English ship (meaning the *William* of Van Twiller's time) had carried the king's commission 'to sail unto Manatas' and had gone up the river 'towards Fort Oranja . . . without any opposition.' Again, an anonymous paper dated 1663 and evidently written for the eye of the king says that New Netherland's Great River was discovered by Henry Hudson, an 'English gentleman' whom two English merchants, mentioned by name, had sent out 'by King James's permission with three ships well equipped,' adding that Hudson after quarrelling with his crew went to Holland and 'sold his maps and cards to the Dutch' and that it was the Dutch who subsequently cast him adrift to perish in the icy wilderness. The same paper also declares that the Dutch had treacherously carried English emigrants from their own shores to the 'barren country since called Plymouth' and then, in despite of 'engagements' they had made with Captain Argall, had established themselves 'through fraud and treachery' on

Hudson's River 'to the wearing out of our English interest in that place.' That they were there wresting trade from English merchants might be seen from the Dutch returns for the year 1662. Surely England ought to submit no longer to the intrusions of 'such monsters and bold usurpers.'

In other quarters of the globe the Dutch, as the English said, were even more monstrous in their usurpations and in the injuries their great trading companies inflicted upon English commerce and English merchants. This was the period when Thomas Mun the economist wrote that it was a shame to England that the Hollander should support his own 'strength and happiness' by the cod and herring fisheries of 'his Majesty's seas,' thereby 'taking the bread' out of English mouths, and when Dryden the poet in his *Satire on the Dutch* urged his compatriots against the 'lubber state' which had managed to 'bestride' the world:

> As Cato fruits of Afric did display,
> Let us before our eyes their Indies lay:
> All loyal English will like him conclude,
> Let Cæsar live and Carthage be subdued

Young Samuel Pepys, who was then clerk of the acts of the navy, would have found few fellow-countrymen to agree with him had he spoken aloud what he wrote in the diary kept for his own eye — that it was not really the skill of the Dutch that injured the trade of the English, who had 'so many advantages over them in winds, good ports, and men,' but rather the 'pride and laziness' of the merchants of England. These merchants saw only that their rivals had the upper hand in the Orient and had so firmly established themselves on the Guinea coast that the Royal African Company of England found its pathways to profit blocked. Therefore, as Hume explained a century later, a 'ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English,' and the chief agent in this work was that 'man of an insolent, impetuous temper,' Sir George Downing — that 'untrustworthy, avaricious, and

brutal Downing' as, a hundred and fifty years later still, he is called by Blok, the most recent historian of Holland.

This Downing was a cousin of John Winthrop's and had been educated in Massachusetts, graduating from Harvard College. Returning to England he had served as a regimental preacher in Fairfax's army, as staff-officer to Cromwell, secretary to Thurloe, and member of parliament, and in 1657 had been employed by the Protector as his resident at the Hague. When the Commonwealth tottered he turned toward the house of Stuart; and Charles, condoning his past course, gave him the same diplomatic post and made him a baronet. Under both masters he conducted in the House of Commons the financial policy of the government, consulting with his colleagues in his own house, which bequeathed his name to Downing Street where now stands the official residence of the first lord of the treasury, most commonly the prime minister of the crown.

In Holland, in England, and in America Downing was held responsible for the policy expressed by the Navigation Acts; the first of them was generally called 'George Downing's law.' Everywhere, and especially in Holland, he was hated for his insolence, rapacity, and falsehood. And under the crown as under the Commonwealth there was no one else who did as much as was done by this semi-New Englander, deliberately, systematically, malevolently, to stir up strife between the mother-countries of New England and New Netherland.

Strong in the same direction was also the influence of the king's brother James, Duke of York and Albany, heir-presumptive to the throne, lord high admiral of the realm, and, what was more to the point, special fosterer and nominal head of the Royal African Company. In this ambitious trading company the king also was a large shareholder; and there were certain other reasons why, although Charles was less keen for a war than parliament and people, he was not wholly averse to the prospect. He thought that it would distract public attention from home affairs, he believed that it would force par-

liament to grant him money, and he hoped that it might end in the reinstatement of the Orangist party in Holland. In short, as Pepys recorded, 'all the court' was 'mad for war' although persons like himself, who could see more understandingly, 'dreaded' rather than hoped for it.

In 1663 Downing, then the English resident at the Hague, thought it a good time to begin a war or, as he believed that the Dutch were afraid of war, a good time to force them to grant the many claims that England had against them. Parliament had urged the king to demand reparation for the alleged wrong-doings of their East and West India Companies, and Downing now presented to the States General a list of their 'depredations.' All that he mentioned dated back beyond the year 1662 when the treaty between England and Holland had been concluded, yet none of them had been referred to in the treaty — a 'remarkable' fact, to quote Hume again, which gave 'no favorable idea of the justice of the English pretensions.' Neither the treaty, it should be noted, nor the subsequent list of anterior offences mentioned the occupation by the Dutch of the territories they called New Netherland.

Samuel Maverick had followed up his *Brief Description of New England* with a series of letters to Clarendon in which, while he urged the reform and restraint of the New Englanders, he suggested the conquest of the New Netherlanders, describing their wealth in furs, their two 'gallant rivers,' and the way in which they continued to 'encroach and increase,' and declaring that the Dutch as well as the English among them would make 'little or no dispute' about surrendering if they were promised safe enjoyment of their lands and goods and relief from the 'unheard of taxes' now imposed on their imports and exports and even 'on what they eat and drink.' In the summer of 1663 the counsels of this recalcitrant New Englander were vigorously reënforced by those of George Baxter the renegade New Netherlander and a disreputable friend of his, Captain John Scott.

Baxter seems to have been trying for a long time to get a hearing, for in 1658 he and two others had presented to Cromwell a petition on behalf of several inhabitants of 'Fairfield and Long Isle in New England.' This was two years after he had fled from New Amsterdam and shortly after Stuyvesant had prevented the publication of the Protector's letter to the people of Long Island.

Captain John Scott, according to his own account, was the son of an English officer killed in the service of Charles I, and when very young had been deported to Massachusetts and bound out as a servant because he was caught cutting the bridles and girths of the horses of a parliamentary troop. Going to Long Island when his term of service expired, there, as other accounts set forth, he made constant trouble, first joining the would-be rebels in the days of Cromwell's expedition, and afterwards giving for large tracts of land, which he said he had bought from the Indians, conveyances that the courts pronounced to be void. Then he made himself conspicuous in New England. Massachusetts had long been trying to get possession of the districts between Narragansett Bay and the Pequot River. Now a company called the Atherton Land Company, which included many of the leading men of Connecticut as well as of Massachusetts, Governor Winthrop among them, was reviving claims — based upon a discredited grant, the so-called Narragansett Patent of 1643 — to lands along the western shore of Narragansett Bay that really belonged to Providence Plantations. Scott joined the Atherton Company, and before the end of the year 1660, when Charles was newly wearing his crown, he went to England by way of New Amsterdam, returning in 1662 to New England and Long Island where he ruffled about for a while boasting of the king's favor, but soon going back again to London. Here he acted, it is believed, as a secret agent for Massachusetts, and certainly as a special emissary of the Atherton Company.

In July, 1663, the agent of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, John Clarke, obtained for them a charter which

covered the Narragansett lands. These had already been covered by the Connecticut charter secured by Winthrop a year before, but Clarke had arranged with Winthrop for a friendly compromise. Meanwhile, however, in June, by intrigue and bribery Scott had secretly obtained a letter from the king to the governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven which instructed them that the Atherton Company had a 'just propriety' in the Narragansett lands, and directed them to protect it against the 'turbulent' people of Providence Plantations. The second name on the list of members of the company embraced in this royal missive was the name of Scott himself, the third was John Winthrop's, another was Thomas Willett's; the first of all was the name of Thomas Chiffinch, the notorious 'page of the back stairs,' valet and pander to King Charles, to whose good offices with the king Scott was largely indebted for his success. Exhibiting the letter after Clarke had got his charter, and falsely declaring that before he got it he had known that the letter revealed the king's real intentions, Scott threw upon the agent of Rhode Island a stigma of bad faith which only the investigations of recent years have removed.

In the meantime New Haven had appointed Scott its mouthpiece to protest at Whitehall against its consolidation with Connecticut; and as early as 1661 Governor Stuyvesant had written to Holland of a report that all Long Island was granted to 'one John Scott who sailed from here in the *Oak Tree* last year.' This report was untrue; but in 1663, while Scott was juggling for the Atherton Company, he petitioned the king on his own behalf, recounting the early misfortunes due to adherence to the royal cause, saying that he had bought 'near one-third part of Long Island,' and asking that he be appointed its governor or at least that its people be allowed to choose a governor for themselves. Through Henry Bennet, who soon afterwards as Lord Arlington became secretary of state, Charles replied that having 'good testimony' in regard to Scott he would inquire whether any other claim to Long Island stood in his way.

How particularly the government was now concerning itself with the colonies is shown by the Act for the Encouragement of Trade of 1663 which was framed for the regulation of colonial traffic. The farmers of the customs were complaining that the kingdom was losing £10,000 a year by the non-execution of the laws, blaming above all Virginia and Maryland which still gave almost the whole of their tobacco carrying trade to the Dutch. Here was a great reason for proceeding against the Dutch-American province. Another may well have been the knowledge that it was disputing the rights recently conferred by the king upon Connecticut. And there seems also to have been a fear that if the Hollanders were left in possession the disaffected party in Massachusetts might some day make common cause with them. But the king's Council for Plantations has left us its own record of its reasons for taking the first definite step toward the seizure of New Netherland. In a paper dated July 6, 1663, it says that it was moved by the complaint, recently brought by Captain John Scott, that the Dutch had 'of late years' possessed themselves of part of New England and in especial of 'the Manhadoes' and Long Island, by a petition of Lord Stirling to his Majesty to the same effect, by the corroborative testimony of a number of other persons, and by the belief of some of its own members that existing conditions frustrated the intent of the Acts of Trade and Navigation — by these influences, it said, it was moved to order the said Captain Scott, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Baxter to draw up within a week a 'brief narrative' to serve as the basis of a report to the king. They were to make plain his Majesty's title to the premises in question, the facts about the 'Dutch intrusion,' the subsequent conduct and the method of government of the intruders, their strength, and 'the means to make them acknowledge and submit to' his Majesty's government 'or by force compel them to or expulse them.' It is probable that, when the three thus selected as expert advisers wrote their 'narrative,' they suggested, for the sake of getting the backing of the Duke of York and of Clarendon whose daughter

he had married, that upon him the coveted province might well be bestowed.

As Governor Winthrop did not go home when he secured the charter for Connecticut but remained in England until April, 1663, and as he then left many friendly correspondents there, undoubtedly he knew how the Dutch province was threatened when, at the conference with Governor Stuyvesant at Boston in September, he and his colleague, saying that they needed time to prepare the case of Connecticut, persuaded the other federal commissioners to postpone for a year the consideration of the claims of New Netherland.

Many were the tribulations of New Netherland in this autumn of 1663. Not only was Long Island seething with disaffection, Connecticut claiming almost the whole of the province: a great freshet had destroyed the crops along the valley of River Mauritius; a great earthquake had everywhere affrighted the people; the Indian war at Esopus was not yet at an end, and the savages, it was said, were planning a descent on Manhattan. So hard pushed for money was the provincial government that it borrowed 12,000 guilders in wampum from Cornelis Steenwyck, pledging the four brass cannon in Fort Amsterdam as security for a bill drawn on the West India Company. And so anxious were the city magistrates that they begged that they might have the aid of the rest of the province and especially of Beverwyck and Rensselaerswyck in their deliberations. This was the first time that a convention had been thought of since the establishment of the city government ten years before. It was a reasonable request, said the governor and council, but, as delegates from the up-river places could hardly come and return before winter would set in, it would be best to summon only neighboring places and then communicate their 'advice and suggestions' to the more remote. The English towns paid no attention to the notifications they received, but on November 1 representatives of New Amsterdam, New Harlem, Bergen, and the Five Dutch Towns of Long Island

met in the Stadt Huis and, calling themselves delegates to a *Gemeene Landts Vergaderingh* (a General Convention or Diet), on November 3 signed a *Remonstrance* to the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. The Chamber, they said, had tempted settlers into its province with pledges of protection, but it had not even secured a proper patent from the States General and so, as the English now declared, had placed its people 'on slippery ice,' giving them lands to which it had itself no valid title. The 'well-intentioned' Englishmen of the province were in a 'labyrinth and maze' while soon, beyond a doubt, the province itself would be totally lost or else so 'cramped and clipped' that its Dutch inhabitants would be forced to abandon it and to become 'outcasts with their families.' The Company should take speedy steps to give assistance to its subjects in this 'alarming and painful extremity.' Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer and Johannes Van Brugh, an 'old *schepen*' of the city, were chosen to carry the appeal to Holland at the expense of the convention, Secretary Van Ruyven pledging 400 guilders toward this end. It was needful, the convention explained to them, that they should appear in support of the written prayer, for the governor's 'notable exertions' in person at Boston and by embassy at Hartford had failed of effect, the English were basing their hostile pretensions upon the charter newly obtained by Governor Winthrop 'contrary to the intention' of the king of England, and the West India Company had neglected to get a similar patent from the States General. At the same time Stuyvesant wrote home that the boundary question positively must be settled and the charter of the Company confirmed under the great seal of the States General, a thing of a sort 'which an Englishman commonly dotes upon like an idol.'

Two Englishmen, he reported, were now going through Long Island inducing the English towns to change their Dutch names, displacing their old magistrates, and installing others who would take the oath of allegiance to King Charles. As only a handful of soldiers could be sent to protect the

Dutch towns, the rest being still engaged with the Indians at Esopus, Stuyvesant thought best to accept the terms that Connecticut had previously proposed in vain: Westchester should belong to Connecticut, the English towns on Long Island should be for the time autonomous. He found it possible, however, to send Captain Cregier and some of his men to expel certain friends of Captain Scott who were trying to buy lands of the Indians on the mainland back of Navesink. Lurid accounts of this incident were circulated in England.

In November George Baxter returned to New England bringing the charter that Clarke had obtained for Rhode Island. Like the charter of Connecticut it had been given in the hope that rivalry among the New England colonies, were the lesser ones strengthened, might help to bridle the strongest and most insubordinate, Massachusetts. It was even more liberal than the Connecticut charter, establishing religious liberty as well as practical political independence; and it was even longer lived, remaining the constitution of the State of Rhode Island until 1842. From England came also Captain John Scott bearing the royal letter about the Atherton Company and royal instructions in regard to the Navigation Acts which, if obeyed, would have put an end to the traffic of New England with New Netherland. The many dignitaries in Massachusetts and Connecticut who were interested in the Atherton Company bade Scott welcome. Governor Winthrop sent him to Long Island with John Young and another colleague, administering an oath which empowered them to incorporate the towns of the island with Connecticut. And New Haven reimbursed him for his outlays in England and supplied him with a troop of almost two hundred men. Before he left Hartford he wrote to Joseph Williamson, then secretary to Arlington the secretary of state, begging that no heed be given to any petitions from the Dutch regarding Long Island until some person from New England could come to confront them or their 'complices,' and sending his 'services' to Thomas Chiffinch.

When he reached the island he found that the English towns of New Netherland, — Hempstead, Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, and Gravesend, — preferring not to come under Puritan rulers, had formed a 'combination'; and, breaking his oath to Connecticut, he accepted their invitation to act as their 'president' until the Duke of York or the king of England should establish a government among them. These words show that Scott and Baxter must have spread in America the news of what the king and his advisers were considering but had not yet openly announced in England. Then Scott, setting out to reduce the neighboring Dutch towns with what Stuyvesant called his 'ragged troop . . . intent upon plunder,' seized the block-house at New Utrecht, raised the English flag at the village called the Ferry, and threatened fire and violence there and at Midwout and Amersfoort. His followers attacked the citizens, and he himself 'bastinadoed' Captain Cregier's son about the head and neck with a rattan because he would not take off his hat to him. 'I will stick my rapier in the guts of any man who . . . says that this is not the king's land,' he cried to three envoys whom Stuyvesant had commissioned to treat with him as the agent of Connecticut. After a parley he agreed to withdraw but said that he would come back in April and publish his commission, declaring that the Duke of York intended soon to possess himself of all New Netherland and promising the people that 'as soon as this place will be king's land you shall have more freedom.'

So great was the disorder on Long Island, many individual Englishmen under pretence of new grants from the Indians driving Dutchmen 'by force' from their lands, that in February, 1664, the Five Dutch Towns drew up a *Remonstrance* to the governor and council, demanding prompt assistance from the West India Company:

> In default whereof we roundly declare that we cannot any longer dwell and sit down on an uncertainty, but shall be obliged to our hearts' grief to seek by submitting to another government better protection as well against such vagabonds as against barbarians.

Again the governor, not daring to risk another Indian outbreak by bringing down his soldiers from Esopus, asked advice of his council and the city magistrates, laying before them a series of written questions. New Amsterdam, they replied,

> . . . is adorned with so many noble buildings at the expense of the good and faithful inhabitants, principally Netherlanders, that it nearly excels any other place in North America. Were it duly fortified it would instil fear into any envious neighbors, protect both the East and the North Rivers, the surrounding villages and bouweries, as well as full ten thousand inhabitants, both Dutch and French, who in the course of a few years, if it pleased God, might become a mighty people in this happily situated province.

If left in peace, said the writers, such a province would soon become 'the granary of *Patria*' and an emporium of 'tobacco, hemp, flax, and other necessaries.' But peace was not in sight; beyond a doubt the English meant to seize New Amsterdam as the key to all New Netherland. It was not for the people at large to dispute whether the country belonged to Holland or to England. Their part was to resist all attacks on their 'property, liberty, and privileges.' Burghers and townsmen were bound to defend their own places within their walls, the Company's soldiers to protect the villages and the open country. To secure New Amsterdam its magistrates offered to use all its revenues and to raise a large loan if the governor would resign to them the tapsters' excise so that the lenders could gradually be reimbursed with interest. The governor consented, stipulating that the city should support a hundred and fifty soldiers. Bonding its property, a thing that the West India Company had forbidden it to do, and pledging the tapsters' excise the city then borrowed from almost a hundred persons a total of 27,500 guilders, promising to discharge the debt within five years and to pay meanwhile in wampum ten per cent interest which should commence 'when each shall have paid his last promised penny.' The list of subscribers to the loan, dated February 24, shows that Governor Stuyvesant lent 1000

guilders, the members of the city corporation an aggregate of 6300, the 'deaconry' of the church 2000, Domine Megapolensis 600, his colleague Drisius 500, Paulus Richard 'one cargo' equivalent to 500, and others from 100 to 1500 guilders each.

What to hope for, whither to turn with the best prospect of safety, the English of the western parts of Long Island did not know, some of them dreading the dominion of Connecticut, others who had longed to come under the Commonwealth of England now feeling differently about a Stuart king. Among the latter was John Underhill. In Cromwell's time he had broken his oath of allegiance to the Dutch. Now he expressed great indignation because others were doing the like, writing to Winthrop in March:

> Truly, Sir, some have offended God in violating their oaths and interest, obliged to the Dutch before taken of by royal power. Sir, who can expect honor and fidelity from such a wandering people as they have manifested themselves in turning, turning, and turning again? Great was their cry for Captain Scott; he sought not them but they him, and cried him up, hosanna today and down with him tomorrow.

So also, said Underhill, they had behaved about the claims of Connecticut. Now, he added, Scott declared that he would not hinder Connecticut if it should assert its authority as resting on its new charter,

> . . . but some, other ways persuaded, would not consent to this, it not being clear to myself nor many more.

It had become clear enough to the Dutch authorities that as Scott and his 'rebellious troop' could not be expelled he must put into writing the semi-agreement he had made a few weeks before; and toward the end of February, acting as president of the English towns and 'in the name' of King Charles and of the Duke of York 'as far as his Highness is therein concerned,' he formally compacted that these towns should remain under the king of England without let or

hindrance from the Dutch authorities while the 'Dutch towns or bouweries' should remain under the States General

> . . . for the space of twelve months and longer (viz.) until his Majesty of England and the States General do fully determine the whole difficulty about the said Island and the places adjacent.

This document was signed and sealed by Scott and attested on behalf of the English towns by John Underhill, Daniel Denton, and Adam Mott, on behalf of Governor Stuyvesant by Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, Jacobus Backer, and John Lawrence.

Once more Stuyvesant wrote to Holland that the Englishmen wanted to provoke him to shed the first blood, and that if no 'immediate' settlement were made in Europe the Company must send him instant and sufficient 'reinforcements of ships and men.' Otherwise he and his people could not be held responsible for what might ensue. They were already filled with 'strange emotions' because they had not yet obtained even the single man-of-war they had long before demanded.

In Holland their rulers were enjoying a mood of purblind optimism. In January, 1664, the West India Company did, indeed, explain to the States General that its province was likely to be 'torn away' by the English. The States General, moved by this appeal, by the pleas of the city of Amsterdam on behalf of its South River colony, and by the *Remonstrance* sent from Manhattan, confirmed the right of the Company to its province by an act given under the great seal. They also ratified the Hartford Treaty of 1650, urged King Charles to ratify it and to rectify the 'abuses' under which the Company had suffered, and notified all friendly powers that they had so done. But they ignored what was really the most important request of the Company: it had asked whether it might proceed against its enemies 'in a hostile way' and, if so, whether the States General would give it the needful aid. Nevertheless the Company forgot its fears, pinning its faith on the one hand to the 'great hopes and promises' which,

it said, were held out to it in England, and on the other to what it considered a 'favorable inclination on the part of Governor Winterop' of Connecticut. Undoubtedly, it wrote to Stuyvesant, King Charles would immediately ratify the Hartford Treaty, and undoubtedly New England would not support the few rebels on Long Island. Thus encouraging the governor, it sent him sixty soldiers, a meagre supply of ammunition, a copy of its charter as newly confirmed, much elaborate advice about fortifications, finances, trade, and taxes, and mandatory letters from the States General to the Long Island towns.

Undoubtedly the demand of the States General about the Hartford Treaty helped to crystallize the desires of the king into a determination to seize New Netherland at once. He made no reply, for to ratify the treaty would have been to resign all claim to the province, to refuse would have been to warn the Dutch to protect it. Just at this time a committee of three members of the Council for Plantations, appointed to receive complaints about New Netherland and to decide upon the feasibility of capturing it, presented their report. One of the three was the secretary of the Duke of York. The others were Sir John Berkeley, a brother of the governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret. Both of these were among the patentees to whom a charter for the province of Carolina, to extend from Virginia to the borders of Spanish Florida, had been given in 1663; and both were intimate friends of the duke intent upon profiting personally and largely by the enterprise on his behalf which now they counselled the king to undertake. Three ships, they said, with about three hundred soldiers would suffice to reduce New Netherland, for on Long Island one-third of the 1900 people were English, Englishmen would 'come freely' from the other colonies to help, and the Indians might probably be engaged 'if need require.'

In February, when Scott was announcing on Long Island what were still state secrets in England, active measures against

the Dutch in other quarters were put in hand. Borrowing two men-of-war from the king, the Duke of York as patron of the Royal African Company secretly despatched a small squadron commanded by Robert Holmes to attack the posts of the West India Company on the western coast of Africa. Lord Clarendon confessed, says Samuel Pepys, that this expedition was sent 'without any shadow of justice,' for war had not yet been declared. Nevertheless, as soon as it was upon its way another enterprise, of a distinctly piratical sort, was organized, and this time the king himself took the lead in the work.

His first move was to give away, in the manner that Scott had foretold, the region that he intended to seize. On March 12 he bestowed upon his brother the Duke of York a charter covering that part of the district called Maine which extended from the point nearest Nova Scotia westward to Pemaquid and northward to Canada, with Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket,

> And also all that island or islands commonly called Matowacks or Long Island situate, lying, and being towards the west of Cape Cod and the Narro Higansetts abutting upon the main land between the two rivers there called or known by the several names of Conectecutte and Hudson's River. Together also with the said river called Hudson's River and all the land from the west side of Connectecutte River to the east side of De La Ware Bay.

A duplicate of this patent, given the duke as evidence of title, now hangs under glass in the State Library at Albany — a single sheet of parchment measuring 32 by 27 inches, beautifully engrossed in black and red with a deep floriated border at the top. The original and the warrant given by Charles for its preparation are in the Public Record Office in London. The warrant shows that the first intention was to give the duke only the region between the Hudson River and the Delaware. It is not known whether the fact that the patent as actually drawn ignored the terms of the charter recently bestowed upon Connecticut was due to ignorance, carelessness, or design; but it is known that the Connecticut charter had

passed the great seal with the understanding that boundary questions were left open for future settlement. The bestowal within so short a time of these two patents and of those obtained for Rhode Island and Carolina was merely one feature in that general distribution of rewards and sources of maintenance to the needy faithful which followed the Restoration. But the fact that powers and privileges in America were bestowed upon a royal duke and other impoverished Englishmen of high station, as well as upon colonials believed to be loyal, shows, as does in another way the passage of the Navigation Acts, how greatly interest in the colonies increased after the fall of the Commonwealth and the cessation of civil strife in England. Also it marks the seizure of New Netherland as part of a genuine if as yet somewhat inchoate desire to bring England's colonial domain to a fuller development.

In defining the duke's territories his patent said nothing of their owners or inhabitants, speaking here as it might have spoken of uninhabited lands. And in transferring to the duke all the king's rights, powers, and privileges therein, and all emoluments that might accrue therefrom, it did not even hint that part of his domain would have to be acquired by force or that another part was already under a government recently recognized by a royal charter. It simply gave him the power to govern all such subjects of the king of England and his heirs and successors

> . . . as shall from time to time adventure themselves into any the parts or places aforesaid or that shall or do at any time thereafter inhabit within the same . . . ,

this power to be exercised through such laws, ordinances, and directions as the duke might frame, but 'as near as conveniently may be' in accordance with the laws of England and with a right of appeal to the king expressly reserved to the inhabitants.

Toward the cost of the intended expedition the king gave his brother £4000. The claims of Lord Stirling, grandson of the patentee of that name, which covered the Maine country,

Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket as well as Long Island, were bought by Clarendon for his son-in-law the duke with a promise of £35,000. And in April the duke gave a commission as deputy-governor of all his anticipated possessions to Colonel Richard Nicolls whom the king then authorized to raise recruits for the enterprise in which he was to bear the chief command. Nicolls, always a devoted royalist, had commanded a troop of horse in the civil wars, following the Stuart princes into exile had served with James in France in the wars of the Fronde, and since the Restoration had been one of his gentlemen of the bedchamber. He understood, it appears, both Dutch and French.

Thus the demand of Captain Scott for the governorship of Long Island was forgotten or ignored, to his great dissatisfaction and, as will appear, to the great future detriment of the province soon to be called New York.

All the preparations regarding New Netherland were kept secret lest Holland take alarm and send aid to its colonists. Nor was it difficult to mask them, for the king appointed a commission, composed of Colonel Nicolls, Colonel Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Sir Robert Cartwright, and the New Englander Samuel Maverick, which he empowered to inquire into 'the state of New England,' to receive the complaints of its people, and to settle 'the peace and security of the said country.' This was the ostensible purpose of the expedition. But the king's instructions to the four commissioners said that first of all they were to reduce to an 'entire obedience' the Dutch on or near Long Island and everywhere else within his dominions. These aliens, he explained, supplied 'a constant receptacle and sanctuary' for all mutinous and discontented English colonials, and

> . . . as soon as they shall grow to any strength or power their business is to oppress their neighbors and to engross the whole trade to themselves by how indirect, unlawful, or foul means whatsoever, witness their inhumane proceedings at Amboyna in a time of full peace and all professions of particular friendship, and therefore it is high time to put them out of a capacity of doing the same mischief there. . . .

And so, in this other time of full peace, and a time of special treaty obligations, the king ordered his commissioners to proceed against the New Netherlanders as they should see fit, using force only if it could not be avoided. It would have been poor policy to depopulate or to injure the province from which the duke had been magnificently promised that he might expect an annual revenue of £30,000. Therefore the commissioners were to assure its people that if they would yield to King Charles they should enjoy the same protection as his other subjects; and the governors of New England, ordered to 'assist vigorously' in the work of reducing the Dutch, were afterwards to treat them as 'neighbors and fellow-subjects.'

Late in May the expedition set sail by the express command of the king given through his brother as lord high admiral — three small men-of-war and a transport, mounting in all ninety-two guns and carrying three companies of veteran troops (four hundred and fifty men) well equipped and accompanied by engineers. Its purpose was suspected in Holland, and by Downing at least was not actually denied. When De Witt asked him why it had been sent to New Netherland he replied that he knew of no such country except on the maps; the English had 'the first pattern of first possession of those parts'; and, he added, the Netherlanders would fain consider all the rest of the world New Netherland. Charles II was more discreet, continuing when he knew his ships were on the sea to assure the Dutch ambassador that he meant to inquire into all matters in dispute without taking any action to interrupt good correspondence with the States.

In June the West India Company informed the burgomasters of Amsterdam as owners of the South River colony that it had asked the States General for ships of war, transports, and three hundred soldiers, explaining that Robert Holmes had seized Cabo Corso and was attacking other places on the Guinea coast while another English fleet was on its way to take New Netherland or 'at least' Long Island. The city agreed to support the demand if no acts were sanctioned at which

England could take offence. The States General, likewise unwilling to exasperate the English people, refused all aid, trusting in the report of their ambassador whom the king still assured that he would not 'in any way violate his alliance with the Dutch.'

Meanwhile New Amsterdam knew only that the Long Islanders were expecting the advent of an English fleet. It was fearful but not hopeless or panic-stricken. Its magistrates went quietly about their usual tasks and the governor attended to his own, deeding lands on Long Island to Dutchmen and issuing ordinances for the more regular catechising of the children of the city and for the maintenance of fences around the bouweries on Manhattan.

In April, however, another convention gathered in the Stadt Huis. Again the magistrates had asked for it, and this time it fully deserved the name of a *Landtsdag* or *Landts Vergaderingh*, for it represented all parts of the province except the English towns that had recently been cut away from it. Two delegates sat for each of twelve communities — New Amsterdam, New Harlem, Staten Island, and Bergen, the Five Dutch Towns of Long Island, Wiltwyck, Fort Orange (or Beverwyck), and the one surviving patroonship, Rensselaerswyck. A burgomaster and a *schepen*, Cornelis Steenwyck and Jacobus Backer, sat for New Amsterdam, Jeremias Van Rensselaer and the secretary of the patroonship for Rensselaerswyck. Bergen sent its schoolmaster. One Englishman appeared — Thomas Chambers who came from Wiltwyck with a Dutch colleague. Although New Amsterdam protested, Van Rensselaer was chosen to preside because his colony was the oldest in the province.

Again the delegates reproached the West India Company for not protecting them against the 'malignant English.' Stuyvesant replied that he had done all he could and that they themselves had done too little. Refusing to vote more money they adjourned. Before they met again the few soldiers, the scant supplies, and the plentiful advice tardily sent

by the Company arrived. Its 'categorical' orders to extirpate the Esopus Indians and to put down the Long Island rebels could not be carried out, Stuyvesant at once replied. The rebels, the convention declared, were six to one as compared with any force the Dutch could muster and, besides, could call for help upon the populous eastern part of Long Island and the whole of New England. The Indian troubles, however, it did bring to a close, not by an attempt at extirpation but by a formal treaty with more than twenty sachems from the Esopus 'nation' and the nearer River and Long Island tribes. This was all that the little *Landts Vergaderingh* accomplished, but it was enough to justify the day of thanksgiving that the governor proclaimed.

In June Stuyvesant reported that the letters from the States General to the Long Island towns had had no effect. The towns had sent them unopened to Hartford, thus seeming 'to say and indicate, You may get your answer there'; and at Hartford, as Thomas Willett, John Lawrence, and other well-affected Englishmen bore witness, the authorities declared that the letters must have been 'fabricated and forged' either by the West India Company in Holland or by its agents on Manhattan, for the States General had nothing to do with New Netherland, being aware that it belonged to the king of England and by his charter had been given to Connecticut.

Connecticut had promised that if this charter should include New Haven the lesser colony should be free to 'join' or not. New Haven decided to 'remain distinct as formerly,' and Winthrop would not permit it to be coerced. But Connecticut gladly received some of its towns which asked for acceptance, hoping thus to gain the whole colony piecemeal; and it also authorized Thomas Pell to buy again from the Indians the old Dutch tracts between Westchester and the Harlem River including Bronck's Land and the moribund Van der Donck patroonship. If, however, Connecticut would not actively support and defend Westchester, wrote a certain Richard Mills of that place, it ought to say so, for before it asserted its claims the people there had 'lived in peace . . .

without disturbance or danger.' This meant under the Dutchmen whom John Underhill had described as insufferable tyrants, whom John Scott saw fit to call the 'cruel and rapacious neighbors' of the English on Long Island.

In only one thing Connecticut agreed with New Netherland — in calling John Scott a usurper. In March he was arrested on Long Island and taken to Hartford for trial. Many Long Islanders demanded his release, one hundred and forty-four persons at Flushing, for instance, signing a petition which said that he had acted according to the will of the people and that if they would not rise for him the 'very stones' might justly do so. New Haven also asked that he be set at liberty; and Massachusetts and Plymouth sent agents to speak the same demand, fearful lest a favorite of the king be hardly dealt with, or alarmed by Scott's threat that he could send damaging reports about them to England. Nevertheless, Scott was tried on ten charges including perjury, forgery, calumny, treachery, sedition, usurpation, and defamation of the king, and was convicted, fined, and sentenced to imprisonment during the pleasure of the court.

In May the general court of Connecticut, formally resolving that by the terms of its charter its jurisdiction embraced Long Island, deputed Governor Winthrop and two others to settle accordingly the governments of the English towns. In June, coming with some two hundred followers, Winthrop deposed Scott's magistrates and appointed others. Stuyvesant, Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Van Cortlandt, and other prominent New Netherlanders had gone to meet him, hoping to make terms with him. Less tractable even than Scott he refused all offers of a compromise, saying that the Indians from whom the Dutch had bought the western part of the island were not its rightful owners and that the English title was clear — 'according to the proverb,' Governor Stuyvesant remarked, '*sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.*' In short, Stuyvesant reported to his superiors, Long Island was '*in terminus*'; and Domine Selyns wrote that the Englishmen declared they would take New Amsterdam 'with flying colors.'

On July 8 Thomas Willett informed the governor that he had news from Boston that an English fleet had set sail bearing one 'Nicles' with a commission to take his government from him. The city was put in posture of defence, lookouts were set to watch the entrances to the harbor, and prayers for money were sent to Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck, for ammunition to the South River colony. Soon Willett retracted his warning, and letters from the West India Company lulled the growing alarm. Writing before the English ships had sailed, the Company resented the charge that it had 'abandoned' its province and said that when Stuyvesant received its previous letters and the soldiers it had sent him he had doubtless determined that his people 'ought not to submit to the English yoke.' It promised to do all that it could in Europe, and it confidently affirmed that the English fleet was going simply to 'install bishops' in New England 'the same as in Old England.'

Reassured by this letter and urged by his councillors Stuyvesant went up to Fort Orange where the white men were again endangered by a war between the Mohawks and Mohegans. Refusing to believe a story that the New Englanders had fomented the trouble between the savage tribes, he urged Thomas Willett to warn Governor Winthrop that the Mohawks were harboring evil designs against his people, and Winthrop in a letter to Willett returned his thanks for these 'loving and friendly intimations.'

It was on the last day of July that Stuyvesant started up the river. Two of the English frigates bearing two of the royal commissioners, Maverick and Carr, had then been lying for ten days in the harbor of Pascataway, now Portsmouth in New Hampshire; and the Long Islanders knew of the fact for Maverick had sent them word.

Sailing late in May from Portsmouth in England the fleet, as Maverick reported, had met with 'cross winds and very bad weather.' Not until the beginning of August did all four ships lie in Boston harbor. Massachusetts did not welcome them very cordially but allowed the recruiting of two

hundred volunteers. Connecticut sent a strong contingent; and at the request of the chief commissioner, Colonel Nicolls, Governor Winthrop started for the western end of Long Island there to await the invaders' appearance. With him were other representatives of Connecticut including his son Fitz-John, and also Thomas Willett, no longer showing friendship for the Dutch but acting on behalf of Plymouth.

Sure now that the invaders were really coming, New Amsterdam sent an express to recall Governor Stuyvesant from Fort Orange. Ill when he embarked on what proved a 'difficult and dangerous' river voyage he reached Manhattan on August 25. Immediately he ordered the soldiers down from Esopus and lent the city six small cannon and some powder from the fort. By order of the magistrates one-third of the inhabitants were constantly at work upon the defences. On August 26 Nicolls's flag-ship, the frigate *Guinea*, anchored in the little bay called Nayack, now Gravesend Bay, between Coney Island and New Utrecht. By August 29 its companions had arrived with the transports that carried the New England levies, all piloted by New Englanders familiar with the waters of Manhattan. Promptly Nicolls blockaded the Narrows, seized a block-house which had been set on Staten Island to defend them, patrolled the rivers forbidding the farmers to feed the city, and distributed a proclamation promising to all 'foreigners' safety and good treatment if they would quietly submit. In answer to his summons the English Long Islanders gathered in throngs for plunder and bloodshed, as could easily be understood from their 'cursing and talking' when any one spoke of a capitulation — so at least declared the magistrates of New Amsterdam when, a few days later, they described in a farewell letter to the West India Company the results of its 'neglect and forgetfulness.'

New Netherland was in as good a condition for defence as any American colony; Fort Amsterdam, indeed, was a better fortification than could elsewhere be found. Yet the state-

ments made at the time by Stuyvesant's council of war, the reports which he afterwards prepared, and various supporting documents show how impossible it was to defend city or fort against an invading force of any size. The fort contained neither cistern nor well. Its walls were only two or three feet thick and 'backed by coarse gravel'; in some places they were not more than ten feet high; they were so closely encircled by private buildings that at almost any point they could easily be scaled; and they were commanded within pistol-shot by the hills at the north over which the Heere Weg ran. In the fort there were less than a hundred and fifty soldiers and only twenty-five hundred pounds of powder. And in the city there were not more than two hundred and fifty civilians able to bear arms. The magistrates, according to Domine Drisius, were as anxious as the Company's officials to protect the place, but how could they do so? Even if the walls had been real fortifications and the fort a veritable fortress the circuit of the city could not have been guarded; its defenders would have stood 'four rods distant' from each other. Although Stuyvesant had called for one man in three from the Dutch towns no man dared to desert his own home to assist the capital; no aid from Holland could reach it for months; and its English inhabitants were almost without exception hostile. Only John Lawrence, it appears, prayed that he might remain neutral; only Thomas Hall stood openly with the Dutch. Moreover, New Amsterdam would have starved even if it could have fought: the great freshet had swept the fields along River Mauritius so bare that although sloops had been sent to New England for a supply of grain only fifteen hundred *schepels* could be found in the city. On his own bouwerie Stuyvesant kept his servants and negroes busy threshing wheat to be carried to the fort. Greatly he regretted that when the Company's lulling letter came he had let a vessel laden with provisions sail for Curaçoa; and sadly he deplored the arrival about a fortnight before of the ship *Gideon* freighted, as has been told, with more than three hundred negroes. As these alone, he

said, would have required a hundred *schepels* of grain a week he sent them in small parties overland to the South River.

On August 29, the day when the last of the frigates reached Nayack, he sent Domine Megapolensis and his son with two of the city magistrates to inquire why a hostile fleet lay at his doors. Nicolls civilly explained the nature of his commission, demanding instant surrender and renewing his pledges of protection for all who would yield and obey. As he forgot to sign the letter Stuyvesant sent it back. Before it came again in proper form — on the 30th, Saturday — the magistrates, the militia officers, and delegates from the people meeting in the Stadt Huis determined not to resist but simply to take such measures of defence as would prevent a surprise and thus 'obtain good terms and conditions.' On Monday when they reassembled they forced the governor against his will to make public what Nicolls had written. It would discourage the people, Stuyvesant said, while he himself would be held responsible for a surrender.

The following day, September 2, Governor Winthrop, Fitz-John Winthrop, and Willys of Connecticut, Willett of Plymouth, and John Pynchon and Thomas Clarke of Massachusetts came, says Stuyvesant's account, 'in a row boat with a white flag' to the city wharf in front of the public store 'whence they were immediately conducted to the nearest tavern.' Thither Stuyvesant repaired 'to greet them' with his councillors and the two burgomasters, Cornelis Steenwyck and Paulus Van der Grist. They had brought him a letter written by Winthrop but indorsed by Nicolls and two of the other commissioners. A 'friendly advertisement,' Winthrop called it, of the good terms that were offered, promising that the Dutch should have the same privileges as 'his Majesty's English subjects,' that any who desired might freely return to their fatherland in their own vessels, and that other Netherlanders might as freely come to settle in the province. Resistance could mean only a 'wilful protraction' of the inevitable end, said the governor of Connecticut. General Stuyvesant,

he begged, would not provoke a 'needless war' when only 'peace, liberties, and protection' were tendered.

This letter, which merely recorded what the emissaries had verbally made known, Stuyvesant, he reported, opened in the council chamber after their departure and read to the councillors and the two burgomasters. The burgomasters asked for a copy of it to show to the other members of their court. 'For reasons' their request was refused, and they 'departed greatly disgusted and dissatisfied.' Then it was resolved to destroy the letter 'to prevent its communication.' Shortly afterwards the work of 'setting the palisades on the land side of the city' suddenly stopped and the greater part of the burghers thronged around the Stadt Huis, clamoring for 'a view and copy of the letter' and saying that the city could not be defended and that no succor could be hoped for. 'To prevent the appearance of a mutiny' the torn letter was pieced together 'as well as possible' by De Sille, copied by Nicholas Bayard 'who understood the English language,' and delivered to the burgomasters.

It had always been plain, General Stuyvesant afterwards said, that 'whosoever by ship or ships is master on the river will in a short time be master of the fort'; this had been proved on the South River at the time when the Company had sent a well-armed ship to reduce the Swedes; had New Amsterdam been 'how strong soever,' without 'superior reinforcements in men and ships' it must have fallen in twelve days before such a force as Nicolls brought against it. Yet for two days after he got Winthrop's proposals the old general stood firm, sending to Nicolls nothing more humble than one of his ever excellent, ever futile expositions of Dutch rights with a demand that the English should make no move until further advices should come from Europe where, he felt sure, the king and the States General had already agreed about their colonial boundaries. Refusing to argue, Nicolls gave the governor forty-eight hours in which to accept his terms. On September 4 large numbers of Long Island Englishmen gathered at Gravesend to meet the king's commissioners.

Nicolls published the Duke of York's patent and his own credentials. Winthrop resigned on behalf of Connecticut its pretensions to the island. On the same day the regular troops landed at Gravesend and marched northward to the Ferry where the New Englanders were already encamped with a multitude of volunteers from the eastern end of the island under command of Captain John Young. Also, as Domine Drisius tells, two of the frigates, sweeping up the bay under full sail, passed beneath the walls of Fort Amsterdam and anchored between Manhattan and Nutten Island

> They had put all their cannon on one side intending if any resistance were offered to pour a full broadside into this open place and so to take the city by assault, giving up everything to plunder and massacre.

As they came to anchor in the best spot for attack General Stuyvesant, a gunner with a lighted match beside him, stood on one of the points of his useless fort, broken-hearted, helplessly defiant. 'The ministers Megapolensis father and son,' it is written, 'led him away.' Once more he wrote to Nicolls, saying now that he was ready either to 'stand the storm' or to arrange an accommodation. If he would raise the white flag on his fort, Nicolls replied, then terms might be debated. This message also the people heard; and, men, women, and children thronging about the governor, they besought him to yield. He would rather, he cried to them, be carried a corpse to his grave.

Then they drew up a formal written *Remonstrance*. The first person who signed it was Hendrick Kip; the next was Stuyvesant's son Balthazar who, born on Manhattan, was only seventeen years of age; the third was Abraham Wilmerdoncx a director of the West India Company who had recently been sent from Holland. Stuyvesant's brothers-in-law added their names; so did the magistrates, old residents like Van Cortlandt and Van Dyck, prominent merchants like De Peyster and Lockermans, and many persons of a humbler sort, ninety-three in all — Dutchmen, Flemings, Frenchmen, and a single Englishman, the first who had come to live on Man-

hattan, Thomas Hall. Thus the last of New Amsterdam's many popular petitions expressed the will of the whole city; and to the modern reader it symbolizes the life of the city from its very beginning almost to the end of the seventeenth century, bearing with the name of its first-born son, Jan Vinje, the name of Jacob Leisler who was to become in 1689 the acting governor of New York.

In this sad and dignified petition the people urged Governor Stuyvesant not to reject the offers of 'so generous a foe' but to arrange an 'honorable and reasonable capitulation.' To resist could mean only

> . . . misery, sorrow, conflagration, the dishonor of women, murder of children in their cradles, and in a word the absolute ruin and destruction of about fifteen hundred innocent souls, only two hundred and fifty of whom are capable of bearing arms.

Meanwhile the soldiers who had recently come from Holland, and who were almost all mercenaries, German, French, Scotch, and English, were openly babbling that they knew where plunder could be found if fighting should ensue. Captain John Scott, escaping from the Hartford jail, appeared at the English rendezvous on Long Island with his 'horse and foot'; and, Domine Drisius relates, there also came

> . . . daily great numbers on foot and on horseback from New England, hotly bent upon plundering the place. Savages and privateers also offered their services against us. Six hundred northern Indians with a hundred and fifty French privateers had even an English commission.

Of course not all of this was true. But it was evident, as Stuyvesant declared, that the English would, 'like the heads of the serpent Hydra, have grown more numerous the more they were lopped off from day to day.' Even he could hesitate no longer. Nicolls consented to his request 'to treat of a good accommodation,' pledging himself to 'redeliver' the fort and the city should the powers in Europe so decree; and on Saturday, September 6, twelve delegates met outside

the walls in the governor's own bouwerie house and drew up in English an agreement called *Articles of Capitulation of the Surrender of New Netherland.* Three of the six Dutchmen represented the provincial government and the West India Company — Councillor De Decker, Nicholas Varleth, and the younger Megapolensis; three represented the city — Cornelis Steenwyck an actual burgomaster, Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt an 'old burgomaster,' and Jacques Cousseau an 'old *schepen.*' The six Englishmen were the royal commissioners Carr and Cartwright, Winthrop and Willys of Connecticut, and Pynchon and Clarke of Massachusetts, the New Englanders being appointed to sign because, as Nicolls explained, their colonies might be involved should trouble with the Dutch ensue.

The Articles upon which they agreed said that a copy of them signed by Nicolls, with copies of his commission and the Duke of York's patent, should be delivered to Stuyvesant at the 'old mill' — the nearest building to the ferry-landing on Manhattan, well outside the city — by eight o'clock of the Monday morning, and that within two hours thereafter the fort should be surrendered to Colonel Nicolls, the garrison to march out with the honors of war. Nicolls at once indorsed the Articles. On Sunday after the second service they were read aloud to the burghers in front of the Stadt Huis. On Monday, the official copy having duly reached Governor Stuyvesant, they were ratified by him, and by De Sille the *schout-fiscal,* Martin Cregier the chief militia officer of the province, Peter Tonneman the city *schout,* Burgomaster Van der Grist, Jacobus Backer the president of the board of *schepens,* and three other *schepens* — Timotheus Gabry, Isaac Greveraet, and Nicholas De Meyer. The certificate of their ratification, now in the Public Record Office in London, bears the indorsement: 'On the same day the town and fort were delivered accordingly.'

This day was September 8 on the Dutch (the New Style) calendar, August 29 on the English calendar that was now to be used on Manhattan. Before the sun had set, Cornelis

Van Ruyven, now no longer the secretary of the province, wrote to the town of Boswyck and doubtless in similar words to the other Dutch towns of the neighborhood:

> It has happened that the New Netherland is given up to the English and that Peter Stuyvesant, Governor for the West India Company, has marched out of the fort with his men by Beaver Lane to the Holland shipping which lay there at the time; and that Governor Richard Nicolls, in the name of the king of England, ordered a corporal's guard to take possession of the fort. Afterwards the governor, with two companies of men, marched into the fort accompanied by the burgomasters of the city who inducted him as governor and gave him a welcome reception. Governor Nicolls has altered the name of the city of New Amsterdam and named the same New York, and the fort, Fort James.

Nicolls was installed by the burgomasters and proclaimed to his new subjects as deputy-governor for the Duke of York; but the duke had delegated to him and a council which he was at once to form all his own autocratic powers. It was in honor of the duke that the city and the fort received their new names; yet naturally the Latin name for New York, Novum Eboracum, reproduced the Roman name of the city of York in England.

By special agreement only the English regulars were allowed to cross the ferry, for the burghers, in Stuyvesant's words, were especially afraid of being plundered by their 'most bitter enemies' the New England and Long Island volunteers. These soon dispersed to their homes, Nicolls promising in a letter to John Young, as commander of the Long Island militia, that 'in convenient time and place' deputies should be summoned 'to propose and give their advice in all matters tending to the peace and benefit of Long Island.' Part of the Dutch troops, now grumbling loudly because they had not been permitted to fight, embarked on the slave-ship *Gideon* and a few days later, with a safe-conduct from Nicolls, sailed for Holland. General Stuyvesant remained on Manhattan. The city magistrates, secured in their offices by the Articles of Surrender, continued to perform their functions as before, dealing with petty thefts and disputed bargains on the very

day when they prepared their letter of farewell to the West India Company.

This letter, signed 'Your sorrowful and abandoned subjects' and indorsed 'Done in Jorck heretofore named Amsterdam in New Netherland, Anno 1664, the 16th September,' was sent by the *Gideon* as were likewise the one from Domine Drisius that has also been quoted and the official reports of the surrender. These appear to have been papers of which only extracts are preserved. One, called a *Register of the Principal Events which Occurred in the Attack upon and Reduction of New Netherland,* ended with the words

> And thereupon . . . the place of New Amsterdam in New Netherland, situate on the Manhatans, surrendered to the English, the garrison retiring with all their arms, flying colors and beating drums; and thereby the English, without any contest or claim being put forth by any person to it, took possession of a fort built and continually garrisoned about forty years at the expense of the West India Company.

To be exact, it was fifty-five years since Hudson's discovery of Manhattan, forty-one years since the birth of the province and the beginning of the West India Company's niggardly, selfish, myopic system of administration. It was thirty-eight years since the birth of the town, eleven since its incorporation as a city.

The other report was a *General Letter,* addressed to the Company, of which the surviving fragment reads:

> And what is above stated was done to us by pretended friends in time of peace, not by way of reprisal or pretence that they had suffered wrong but only, as they unanimously declare, intimate, and express by their summons and published commission . . . that this country, belonging to the crown and domain of England's Majesty, had thus long been unjustly usurped and possessed etc.
>
> Dated Amsterdam in New Netherland, 17th September, 1664, we having been ordered on the 7th not to call this place otherwise than New York, on the Island of Manhattan, in America.

In truth, the conquest of New Netherland, as it is often called, was really a lawless capture or seizure. It was a proof,

wrote Samuel Pepys at the time, that the English were doing 'mischief' to the Dutch 'in several parts of the world without public knowledge or reason.' Undoubtedly Charles had been led to believe not only that, as the heir of the Cabots' employer, he had an indisputable right to the territory but also that the Dutch were recent and aggressive 'intruders' there. Moreover, a time had come when England could not do without the central portion of the American seaboard and when the temptation to seize it was peculiarly strong. None the less Charles seized it in defiance of the law of nations as this law was even in his day understood. Secretly and behind a screen of lies he took possession of a province that he had never asked might be ceded to him, that he had never openly claimed, and that was held by a power with which he had recently agreed not to right by force just such wrongs as those that he alleged in excuse of force. Whatever may now be thought of the validity of his title to New Netherland, unquestionably he asserted it by means not of a naval or even of a privateering but of a buccaneering enterprise, planned and carried out under conditions that made it a flagrant example of bad faith.

As to the validity of his title, it is one of those questions which, for other reasons than a lack of evidence, the historian cannot hope to call questions closed. For and against it the same sufficiency of undisputed facts has been plausibly used in arguments which are best described as the geometrician describes parallel lines. The unargumentative, unlearned opinion that has prevailed on Manhattan itself was recorded by the poet of the Revolution, Philip Freneau a New Yorker of Huguenot descent, when, telling how Charles II 'sent over a squadron' to assert his claims, he wrote:

> Had his sword and his title been equally slender
> In vain had they summoned Mynheer to surrender
> The soil they demanded, or threaten'd their worst,
> Declaring that Cabot had looked on it first.

The absorption of New Netherland by the English had begun, however, in the year 1634 when the bark from Ply-

mouth sailed up the Connecticut River carrying the ready-made frame of a block-house. Thirty years of constant aggressions, thirty years of unavailing protests on the spot and futile demands for aid from Holland, had taught the New Netherlanders to foresee the inevitable and to recognize it when it came. They loved their *Patria* but detested their actual overlord the West India Company. They hated the Englishman, but their dread of him had grown so slowly that the actual touch of his yoke could not excite such reckless bursts of courage as may follow sudden bursts of rage. The moderation and the good-will of Colonel Nicolls were evident; the Articles of Surrender were clear, comprehensive, and more favorable, probably, than have ever been granted to any other captured place; and the half-century of independence enjoyed by New England seemed to guarantee to New Netherland at least the measure of self-government it had already secured. In the event almost every shred of political liberty was taken away from it. But such an outcome of so peaceful, so amply guarded a surrender could not be anticipated. Therefore the people of New Amsterdam accepted their fate quietly and hopefully, seeing no reason why they should break their personal or commercial ties with their fatherland or should cease to feel themselves its children.

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